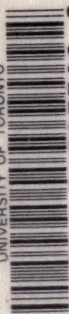
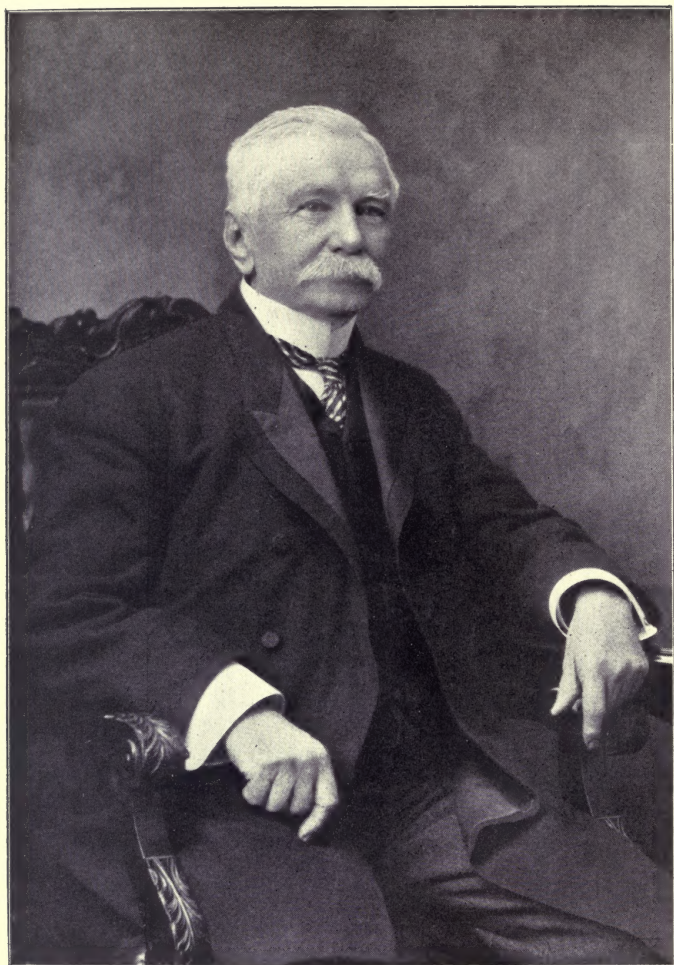


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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Yours truly
Charles Clarke

SIXTY YEARS IN UPPER CANADA

WITH AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL
RECOLLECTIONS

BY

CHARLES CLARKE

Late Clerk of Legislature of Ontario



TORONTO, 1908
WILLIAM BRIGGS

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PREFACE.

THE story to be related by me, at the request of various friends, is one marked by few uncommon incidents and fewer extraordinary events. It tells somewhat of the social advancement of Upper Canada, and much more of its political progress, and I have endeavored to portray, candidly and faithfully, some of the leading occurrences of the past sixty years in that direction. In that time I have witnessed the new growth of an old Province, now rejuvenated and well on its way to manhood and nationality.

To do this with a knowledge that men are still living, or have but lately passed from the scene, under and largely by whom these changes have been effected, is to attempt a difficult task. It is to write, to some extent at least, with fettered hands, and to be tempted to almost beg a question when outspokenness is preferable.

Feeling, as I do, that every man's life has in it that which, simply retold, has interest, in some respect or other, for many men of similar taste, age or pursuit, I

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venture to hope that I have not been intrusive when placing on record something of what I have seen and experienced since first setting foot in Canada.

My references are principally of a political character, or allude to military development which has been made within a brief period. Nearly every man named in these pages has been personally known to me, and the brief sketches, inserted here and there, are as faithful reflections of the parties named as it is in my power to give. I have glanced, briefly, at some English men and events which I witnessed before leaving the Old Land, and feel that I need not apologize for their introduction here.

I hope that my work has been done with a conscientious effort to be candid, and that, in endeavoring to be faithful, I have not run into the error of misunderstanding, or the still greater one of the misrepresentation of, the opinions of other men.

CHARLES CLARKE.

ELORA, Ontario, 1908.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

ON the 28th November, 1826, I was born in the city of Lincoln, England. At that time my parents had their residence in one of the historic city buildings. The Stone Bow, or "Stan Bow," as it is commonly named, spans the High Street, some distance below the "Steep Hill" which leads up to the Norman cathedral. It dates back to the times of Richard the Second, and was originally erected as the southern gate of the city. At one side of it, and above it, were the City Hall and Jail, the latter having been closed in consequence of its inadequacy, and because a large building, more in accordance with modern requirements, had been erected on other city property.

My father was city corn inspector, with whom every sale of grain in Lincoln had to be recorded, and returns were weekly sent to the proper Government Department. In those days, before Free Trade, every transaction on the corn market was a matter of public concern, for the sliding scale of Lord John Russell's régime was enforced. The living rooms under and above the Bow looked out upon the busy life of the High Street, and to me, as a child, the varying scenes were a constant source of pleasure and attraction, for the locality was in the very centre of Lincoln, and nothing of interest passed which did not come under the observation of those resident in that neighborhood.

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The city of Lincoln is one of the most ancient in England, and at that time still bore the impress of the various changes which at once marked its rise, its age and its decadence. In the days of its origin, when rough stones and mud and wattled walls were the protections of its British inhabitants from man and beast, the triumphant legions of Rome had swept through the land, and created the nationality which, in some form, gave a limited cohesion to another of the peoples whose existence dated from the victories of Cæsar upon their territory. The withdrawal of the Roman eagles was followed by Saxon occupation and rule. Then came Danish forages, and even settlement, upon the eastern coast of Lincolnshire, to be rudely broken down by the mailed hand of William, and the firm establishment of a rule which, however rough and even brutal in its form, was thorough, and ultimately and practically declared that never again should the island shores be under foreign control. Growth followed the maintenance of order and the imposition of protection, and Lincoln, under the shadow of a vast cathedral, and the frowning walls of a Norman castle, and in the midst of a country given up largely to the growth of wool and wheat and flax, became a trading centre of more than secondary importance. But it, in turn with many others, fell back from prosperity to a stagnation which became somnolent, and gradually stood in the position of an unimportant city of the past. Its intellectual superiority may be gathered from the fact that its churches, and chapels of religious houses, numbered over fifty, and that to-day it possesses a diocese much more than commensurate with its extent and population in Norman times.

My life now covers the remembered doings of nearly eighty years, a period the most astounding, probably,

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in the history of the world in which we live. The years of my infancy belonged truly to a past people, almost a past age. Every century is marked by its own progress in dress, food, education and government; but between the eighteenth and nineteenth were vaster differences than in any two preceding them.

Machinery, unknown before the opening of the nineteenth century, gradually became the common property of the husbandman, the producer of textile fabrics, the builder, the traveller, the mechanic. Chemistry began to play its important part in the unfolding of the treasures of the earth's surface. Steam, from being a mechanical curiosity, exerted its potentiality as the means of locomotion on river and sea and land. Electricity was growing into a useful and controllable power, and something more than the toy of schoolboys and teachers. Gas became the terror of the housebreaker and the footpad, as well as the most useful of domestic agencies. Old Bow Street runners gave place to that system of police which became the foundation of law and order. Postal conveniences increased the intercourse necessary to an extended civilization. The Press gradually cast off the fetters which had held it in the past. That greatest blot upon British institutions, the West India slave trade, was driven by the persistent efforts of philanthropists into befitting annihilation. The extension of the suffrage, which was forced from the aristocracy of Great Britain before a third of the century had passed, opened the way to a series of reforms, long demanded, yet firmly resisted. A new era had truly set in. A reformed tariff was one of its first results. Protection was gradually superseded by a system of trade which gave to Great Britain control of the commerce of the world. Her mercantile fleet dotted the seas, and a cloud of

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purple smoke soon marked the pathway of British bottoms from the Old Land to the new and wealthy continent beyond the Atlantic. Unrest, which meant commercial life and force, pervaded all things, and it was indeed a valued privilege to be born at such a time and amidst such surroundings.

The dead level of the eighteenth century, which was broken only by the wars, necessary to Progress, it may have been, but which incarnadined the whole of the civilized world ere they passed away, had come to an end. The struggles of a class, anxious to maintain its hold upon territory and privileges, had done much to deaden the slowly developing desire for the growth of general liberty, but Progress in its protean forms nevertheless came with the downfall of Napoleon, and the people, having felt their strength, slowly but surely asserted it, in the various measures which henceforth crowded the statute books. But, despite the liberal character of this legislation, it failed to satisfy many who had unreasonably looked for a millennium upon an earth not yet free from the trammels of Ignorance and Privilege. The unexpected had happened, and the Reform Act, although to a limited extent a Magna Charta, had not proved itself to be a panacea for every ailment of the political situation. Men looked beyond their island home. Many had already left Britain for the United States and its undoubted prosperity. To reach its shores was to begin life anew, and multitudes, convinced of this, sought the enlarged opportunity to the man of moderate means which emigration offered.

CHAPTER II.

MY SCHOOL DAYS.

Thomas Cooper, Chartist, poet and teacher—Abandons the last and opens academy—Teaching methods—Winter readings—Educational originality—A decorated Milton—From school to press—Writes poetry and starves—Lectures on Chartism—Staffordshire—Excites a mob—Sent to jail—Writes a poem—Becomes a rationalist lecturer, and ultimately a Baptist minister. George Boole, mathematician and teacher—Lincoln and Waddington—A Lincolnshire school without a Squeers—A good home—Professor of mathematics, Queen's College, Cork—Dies there.

WHILE I was yet a lad I was fortunate enough to be sent to school to Thomas Cooper, Chartist, poet and author of several works of fiction, which, like the writings of Thomas Miller, the literary basket-maker, and Hugh Miller, stonemason, were the products of self-education, acquired under unusual difficulties. Born in Leicester, the death of his father caused the removal of the boy, in the care of his mother, to Gainsboro', in Lincolnshire, the town which "George Eliot" loved so much, and described so well, as "St. Oggs," in her best narrative work, "The Mill on the Floss." The young student had been apprenticed to a shoemaker, but in his twenty-third year he abandoned the last, and opened an Academy, which proved to be unsuccessful as a commercial venture, and removed to the city of Lincoln, where he assumed charge of a school conducted by a relative

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who had recently died. He had at Gainsboro' picked up a knowledge, more or less thorough, of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French, and after he took control of the Lincoln venture, studied Italian with an *émigré*, while we scholars were at play at our noon recess. His heart was in his educational work, and he made the school-room as attractive as a home. Its walls were largely covered with prints and engravings, and there were heads, painted in oils, of the Apostles and other biblical characters, which gave promise of wonderfully strong artistic ability on the part of one of Cooper's Gainsboro' pupils. On the brackets between the windows were busts of Milton, his favorite poet, Shakespeare, Byron, Cromwell, Cæsar and Homer, and the purchase of these and of the engravings must have absorbed the sparse savings of the struggling preceptor.

Our hours of study in school were from nine a.m. to noon, and from one p.m. to five. The days never seemed long, although the holidays, which we had from three on Wednesday afternoon, and the half-day on Saturday, were always welcome. At four o'clock promptly, on winter afternoons, school books were closed, and for an hour our master read aloud some interesting narrative, which, from his elocutionary powers and distinct pronunciation, and, more than all, intelligent choice of subject, held us truly spellbound. Bonaparte's unfruitful campaign in Egypt, and the horrors of the retreat from Moscow, were thus made known to us; the graphic description from the pen of a French *savant* telling of the mysteries of the pyramids, took us back to ancient Egypt; the changing fortunes of the day at Waterloo were told in thrilling tones; and travels and adventures and discoveries daily trod upon the heels of the wonders of the preceding afternoon. The beauties of Milton,

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Shakespeare and Byron were in turn presented to us. We crossed the Sahara, scaled the Alps, followed Columbus across the Atlantic, heard the jubilant death-cry of Wolfe, and stood by the rude grave of valiant Sir John Moore. The pages of ancient history were opened to us, and we trod the soil of Italy, entered the Roman amphitheatre, fought at Marathon, and with intense satisfaction, difficult to realize now, witnessed the discomfiture of Xerxes.

It was not in such things only that Cooper excelled. He was the embodiment of educational originality, and loved to teach us the A B C of citizenship. A mayor and municipal council were elected, for the boys, by the boys; by-laws for our management were passed; and even courts were established for the trial of minor offences. A row in the playground was disposed of before a tribunal in which the master became judge, and some of the pupils acted as counsel, witnesses and jurymen—the sentence being properly in the hands of the Bench. I was too young to be a very active participant in these formalities, but have a distinct remembrance of them. We were made as familiar as boys could well be with the various forms of government, and while politics were not openly taught, we were strongly tinctured with the belief that a free republic is infinitely better than an unlimited monarchy.

Although full of nervous energy, impulsive and positive in his opinions, Cooper possessed wonderful control over his temper, and seldom exhibited its weakest side. Once only did I see him lose ordinary curb over it, and then he severely chastised a lad who had, without provocation, applied an opprobrious epithet to another. Once again I witnessed the coming storm, but then it was softened by an expression of regret that averted punish-

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ment. A lad, full of animal spirits, and the victim of an irresistible impulse of drollery, took advantage of the master's absence on one occasion, bored a hole into the plaster bust of Milton, near the melancholy mouth of the great poet, placed a short pipe in the aperture, and decorated the neck of the author of "Paradise Lost" with a narrow blue ribbon, tastefully tied into a fashionable bow. Need it be wondered that such a profanation called forth the lightnings of our offended Jove? The hurricane came, and the sinner quailed before it, but Humor pled with Mercy. She prevailed over frowning Justice, and with a smile, sad and forgiving, even if somewhat grim, the judge kindly warned the culprit never to repeat such a desecration of the memory of the highest and noblest in England's Pantheon.

After a comparatively brief period, Cooper abandoned the teaching profession for a pursuit still more attractive to him. He was offered and accepted the position of co-editor to the *Stamford Mercury*, probably then the most important of the county press in England, and, removing to Stamford, acted as its editor until the demon of unrest once more overtook him. He sought refuge in trade, bought and sold leather, and lost money. He had visions of literary excellence, and could have realized them had he listened to their promptings. He went to London and Bulwer, to whom he was well known, and was disappointed. The literary baronet had his own ambition to satisfy, and took little interest in the author of second-rate fiction. Cooper returned to Leicester and opened a coffee house, and lost more of his small means. Naturally a Reformer and man of the people, he here became acquainted with a local leader of the Chartist body—then rapidly developing,—and urged its claims in many directions. He drifted into political discussions,

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became prominent amongst his Chartist associates, lectured to and was worshipped by his hearers. A convention of working men was to be held in Manchester, and Cooper was selected as a delegate. The country was seething with excitement, a wave of unreason swept over the artisans of the land, and wherever a match was applied a conflagration followed. On his way to Lancashire, Cooper addressed a crowd of citizens at Hanley, in the Staffordshire Potteries, and his oration was followed by destruction of the residence of the parish parson, and of those of two other local magnates. He was not actually present at the riot, but was arrested and committed on a charge of inciting to arson, and, although he conducted his own defence, was acquitted. He was shortly afterwards tried for sedition, and convicted. His trial lasted several days, and his defence was brilliant and vigorous, if not effective. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Stafford jail, and manfully served his term for what he did not regard as a crime. It was a time of trials and convictions and punishments of men who asked for a measure of liberty which has long been accorded to Canadians and has been liberally extended to Englishmen.

During the term he was immured in Stafford jail he was afforded facilities for literary work, and wrote a poem in the Spenserian stanza which is of remarkable power, and called forth many favorable criticisms from even politically differing opponents. His jail poem, "The Purgatory of Suicides," evinced vast literary erudition and depth of thought, and was speedily followed by other work in prose and verse. Amongst his correspondents and friends he numbered Jerrold, Carlyle, Bulwer, Dickens, D'Israeli, and many others whose names are household words. But in religious belief,

although a Methodist in early life, he was a heretic, and for years derived a precarious existence from lectures on subjects which he saw from the extreme Radical standpoint. As life sped on, his ultra views were softened, and although he remained a Liberal in politics, he spent many of the later years of his life in the enunciation of "The Evidences of Christianity," using the old arguments, made stronger by his own experience. He died but a comparatively short time ago, in Lincoln, at a ripe old age, respected and beloved by all who knew him.

After leaving the Cooper school, I became a pupil of George Boole, subsequently a well-known Mathematical Professor of Queen's College, Cork, who opened a seminary in Lincoln, and afterwards became the proprietor of a large boarding-school in the village of Waddington, near Lincoln. Again was I fortunate in my surroundings, for George Boole was even more devoted to his work than was Cooper. The school had an average attendance of about sixty pupils, and these were well and thoroughly taught. At Waddington this was assured by the constant supervision of the master during school hours, and the actual presence of two ushers at all times. The school proper was in a building of the Elizabethan era, and its long windows, like large parallelograms with stone casings and leaded glass, and having iron rods as protection, took the imagination of the pupils back to a period when Shakespeare made a name and "good Queen Bess did rule this land." Our refectory occupied about a third of the length of one large room, used as school and dining-room, the remaining space being utilized for desks and "forms," at which we sat to study. Either end of this hall held a huge fireplace, in which, during the winter months, fires constantly burned throughout the day, and until, at the hour

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of nine p.m., the pupils retired to their dormitories. A healthy mind and a healthy body were regarded as the normal condition of a Waddington lad, and an epidemic was a thing unknown during the reign of the presiding master.

George Boole was a born teacher, largely self-taught, and standing in the ranks of the people. Of refined taste, liberal ideas of vast width and depth, he won love, commanded respect, and was successful because thorough, persevering, and well equipped for the work which he set out to do. And to him the schoolroom was his home, while his exacting duties were a labor of love. As long as he conducted the day-school in Lincoln I was a regular pupil. In summer months he gave us no home work, but we went to school each morning at seven, and studied until eight, when we went home to breakfast, returning punctually at nine. Boole's father was a clever optician, and I have clear and pleasant recollections of several Sunday afternoons spent in a darkened room, which enabled us to greedily drink in the wonders produced by the lenses of a solar microscope of great power. I remember, still more vividly, the occurrence of a total eclipse of the sun, and the exhibition of its moving shadow, thrown upon a sheet by means of a telescope placed in one of the shutter-darkened windows of the room. At totality, the pupils present were taken into an adjoining garden to see the closing of the flowers, to hear crowing chanticleers, and to watch jackdaws winging home to roost in the lofty cathedral towers at Lincoln. These things are such pleasant recollections that it would be difficult to refrain from telling them, and they afford, if naught else, a view of the possibilities

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of a well-taught school in the days when the story of Dotheboys Hall was believed to be the story of nearly every private school in England.

Knowing the difficulties of Lindley Murray, our preceptor dictated to us, each morning, a portion of a brief manual of grammar which he had prepared, so as to simplify the studies of his pupils. The blackboard and numerous maps were freely used, correct orthography was rigidly enforced, and our reading lessons were made instructive by varied questions which brought before us the meaning of the author. In the selection of reading matter used in the classes he travelled far beyond the average teacher as to the quality of the books put into the hands of his pupils, and he aimed at elevation of taste and cultivation of the mind. Compositions were his tests of progress, and they were so numerous that every scholar could give a written expression of his ideas. His pupils were from the families of the middle class of society in Lincoln and its surrounding villages, and were of average intelligence, while of varying age and capacity. Several boys were destined for medicine, others had before them a legal career, still others were preparing for the farm or commerce, and one, a special wonder, was studying for the naval service and was up in trigonometry.

Waddington was supposed to have derived its name from "Woden," in the days of the Danish invasion and settlement of Lincolnshire, and to have received its terminal "ton" at the instance of the Saxon invaders who succeeded the Norsemen. It was a quiet village, perched on the top of the cliff highland which runs throughout the border of the fenny country and terminates in the Wolds amidst which Tennyson was born, and the beauties of which he has sung in living verse. Below it is a

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valley of vast extent, and the eye overlooking it takes in a vision embracing much of Nottinghamshire and the Sherwood Forest, in which Robin Hood was king, and distant views of Rutland, Leicestershire, Derby and Yorkshire. What a magnificent panorama under either sun or storm! Field after field, grange after grange, masses of woodlands here and there, church spires everywhere, towns and villages in the profuse number which distinguishes so much of thickly populated England, and on every hand evidences of thrift, prosperity and beauty make up a picture such as Turner loved to paint. Sunny Italy itself, as I heard a travelled gentleman declare, cannot produce a scene more exquisitely finished than that which meets the eye on a clear summer's day from the brow of the hill-slope of Woden's town.

In our schoolroom the furniture was plain, and there were few of the extra comforts of an ordinary home. The food supplied to the pupils was plentiful and wholesome, and with meat, milk, bread and potatoes as their bases, the meals were suited to the capacity and requirements of growing lads and were served at regular hours. Breakfast, consisting of bread and milk, was partaken of at eight; dinner was called at half-past twelve, with a well-known bill of fare distinguishing each day of the week; and "tea," of bread and butter and coffee, at six o'clock. At half-past eight we had a collation, termed a "supper," when we were given bread and cheese or bread and treacle, as we preferred, and every night we were polled to ascertain how many rations of cheese were required, or how many "treacles" were called for, and it was seldom that the total poll fell short of the total number of voters.

Above the schoolroom were the dormitories, in each

of which were six or eight beds, an objectionable feature being the fact that there were two boys for every bed. We rose at seven in winter and at half-past six in summer, and retired at nine all the year round. Our lavatory was on the lower floor, where basins, the usual sinks, and an abundant supply of water sufficed for our toilets, each boy furnishing his own soap, towels, brushes and combs. Our ablutions were pretty thorough, for we stripped to the "buff," and sponged and soused under the superintending eye of a vigilant usher. We had baths, used on Saturdays, and at other times when requisite, and we kept about as clean as we felt necessity for. Prayers and the reading of a portion of Scripture followed our morning scrub and preceded our retirement at night. Our studies were as thorough as regular supervision could enforce, and were commenced by half an hour's work before breakfast, proceeded from nine to twelve, were resumed at two and continued until five, and were kept up at night from seven to half-past eight.

Holidays were not numerous. On Wednesday afternoon books were closed at three o'clock, and although there was no dissipating all-day vacation on Saturday, there was no work on the afternoon of that day. That play hours were fully employed goes without saying. Games were fast and furious, and as various as the tastes of the pupils. There were "seasons" for them, and passing waves of shinney, tops, marbles, fox and hounds, prison bars, paper chase, football, bull in the ring, burn-ball, foot races, jumping, leapfrog, and the various other amusements which fill up the play hours of young John Bull, followed each other with a regularity which was pleasing in its kaleidoscopic characteristic. But cricket was with us as a "stand-by," and ball games always had

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a preference. In those days baseball was unknown, except as rounders, and hockey on ice was a sealed book to the English lad. The games, however, helped to develop pluck, courage and strength just as surely then as do the sports of to-day, and I like to think that it was the game itself, even more than the hope of victory, that appealed to us.

One of my early recollections of a semi-literary character is the fact that when a child I saw my first theatrical play. It was "Hamlet," the principal character being assumed by the famous tragedian, Young, who was assisted by the stock company on the Lincoln Circuit, managed by William Robinson, father of Mrs. Kendal and of Thomas Robinson, the clever author of several well-known and successful plays, as "School," "Caste," "Ours," and others. Mrs. Robinson, mother of "Madge," played the Queen, but the character which delighted me more than others, I distinctly remember, was the first grave-digger, personated by Henry Compton, the most distinguished delineator of Shakespeare's clowns. The duel scene was long and distinctly remembered by me.

There is an incident of my later life which so strongly recalls my schooldays that I cannot forbear telling it here. At one of the dinners given by me as Speaker in the old Parliament Buildings in Toronto, I had as a guest Frederick Broughton, Esq., then manager of the Great Western Railway. A slight dialect possessed by him struck me as of Lincolnshire in its origin. Upon inquiry he told me that he was an Englishman, born in the city of Lincoln, and in the animated conversation which followed I found that he, as I, had been taught his alphabet by a Miss Morris when living in that city, and that he

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had been taken by his parents, soon after these early lessons in English, to Gainsboro', where he had been taught Latin by my old teacher, Thomas Cooper, and we felt very specially that there was something more in this than the common bonds of ordinary acquaintance. Soon after this, I regret to add, Mr. Broughton, while walking in his garden at Woodstock, Ont., suddenly fell and died, a victim of heart disease.

CHAPTER III.

AN OLD-TIME ENGLISH ELECTION.

The Sibthorpeian interest—Mr. Lytton Bulwer—A reform candidate—His personal appearance—"Split votes" and a reform winner—Street scenes—Election row—Pinks and blues—Rival roosters—Blazing tar barrels—Babies and beer—Torn flags—Broken windows—More of Bulwer—Another sketch—His pluck—Wright and Cobden.

THE city of Lincoln, one of the strongholds of Feudalism, had, for the larger part of the century previous to the passage of the Reform Bill, been represented by some member of the Sibthorpe family, resident at Canwick, about a mile from Lincoln, and two Conservatives were regularly returned as a matter of course. But the end was near. The chain was snapped at last through the efforts of a strong Reform candidate in the person of Mr. Lytton Bulwer, afterwards to become a leading novelist of the day and a statesman of no small renown. Although the eccentric Colonel Sibthorpe, whose introduction of the moustache upon the face of the ordinary citizen was his chief claim to notoriety, fought a strong fight and headed the poll by a small majority, he was in no respect a match for his opponent, and but for the free-men who "plumped" in self-defence, and many of whom were brought long distances for the purpose, the whilom champion of this special class would have been beaten, as were so many of those who had sat with him in the unreformed Parliament, and, as it was, his coadjutor,

the other Conservative candidate, was hopelessly distanced.

Mr. Bulwer, who, as Lord Lytton, has a world-wide reputation, had some of the qualities of the popular candidate. Of little more than medium height, and with a frame of average proportions, ungainly in manner as an orator, and in a somewhat labored fashion making points which told with an audience of intensity on both sides, he fought keenly and had an enthusiastic following. Many votes were "split," and the indications of the waning popularity of the semi-military Sibthorpe were obvious; and although afterwards elected by a fair majority, where little more than five hundred votes on either side were the tally of party strength, and in a contest wherein Bulwer was freely supported by the more intelligent electors of the constituency, the bewhiskered old man was no longer supreme. Bulwer afterwards, when he became heir to Knebworth, a large landowner with a prospective title, changed his political allegiance, and was as strongly Conservative as hitherto he had been an advocate of Reform. At about the same period, Gladstone, the after champion of Radical principles, was contesting Newark, fourteen miles distant, in the Newcastle and Tory interests, and D'Israeli commenced his career as an extreme Reformer.

The street scenes accompanying the electoral fights of those days, in Lincoln, as well as elsewhere, were full of humor and pugilistic ferocity. The West Indian slavery question was prominent then, and Sibthorpe's defence of British iniquity called forth the ire of the supporters of Reform. Six manacled wretches were driven through the streets in the Liberal procession, with burnt-cork visages and in dress apparently borrowed from the circus of a Cook or Ducrow. The driver, wearing moustache and

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whiskers of huge proportions, was armed with a heavy whip and carried a rusty pistol which he loaded and fired at intervals at the heels of the unfortunate "slaves"—well paid for their temporary degradation—and was supposed by the juveniles to be the genuine embodiment of the gallant Colonel himself, who had dragged the miserable blacks from their far-off island homes. In these processions flags of blue and white indicated the Liberal proclivities of the bearers, while pink and white distinguished the followers of Sibthorpe. These displays took place daily and nightly, and while the contest lasted there was ever upon the air the solemn beating of the Tory drum, which found in "The Roast Beef of Old England" its most popular air, or the brazen notes of the Radical bugles and trombones, which anxiously asked, "What Can the Matter Be?" Sometimes the rival processions met, and dire was the result. The streets were being repaved and macadamized just about that special period, and stones and mud were handy. Some boy of an adventurous disposition tried their efficacy upon some other boy of opposite political tendencies, and it is almost needless to tell what followed. Flags torn from their poles were trampled under foot; the poles, broken up, became convenient weapons of offence and defence, and a real fight went on until the weaker party succumbed, and retired to once more do vigorous battle on the morrow. Colonel Sibthorpe's gardener, an old man with bulbous nose and hearty laugh, wearing a pink hat made of tin, with "Sibthorpe for ever," as its painted legend, was the conspicuous leader of a boyish host who took advantage of some holiday opportunities to lengthen out a long line of supporters of the "Pink." The old fellow was "King of the Castle," and marshalled his young recruits with all the knowledge and tactics of an

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old soldier. In his hand, as his chief weapon of offence, he carried a pole with a tin placard, firmly nailed thereto, upon which was vividly depicted a blue "rooster" in the struggles of death, stricken by an invincible pink bird of a more formidable breed. The idea was a brilliant one, but its originator had no special copyright. Next day the Bulwerites had their revenge, for they had an artist equal to the Conservative Landseer, and who sent forth a blue rooster crowing vociferously, with an arched and extended neck, a tip-toe attitude and a defiant look conveyed any meaning, and when the legions met the pink bird fell to the ground and speedily became an object of Radical derision and destruction.

The blazing tar barrels, carried on the shoulders of men, whose special skill in dexterously and safely tossing into the air these fiery rallying signals earned for them higher compensation than was paid the ordinary election "rooster," were objects of special delight to the juvenile mind, while the crowning excitement of the prolonged popular "spree" was the "chairing" of the successful candidate, who had to submit to being placed on a raised platform and carried through the city on the shoulders of voluntary or purchased enthusiasts.

The most reprehensible practice which, after wholesale bribery, prevailed at the elections was the custom, handed down for many recurring contests, of marching the supporters of each candidate to the several breweries owned by adherents of the two parties. The boys, decked with ribbons, and carrying upon their hats mottoes of "Church and State," "The Constitution for ever," "No Coalition," "Bulwer and Reform," and others of equal ambiguity, were ranged against the walls of the brewery yard and freely served with beer, while their seniors of the same political faith guzzled and imbibed to their high

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content and happiness. On two occasions the supporters of the "other side" met their opponents after this saturnalia, and fierce was the conflict. The "Pinks" carried many silk flags telling the world of the Sibthorpians victories, dating back to the previous century, and these were ruthlessly torn into ribbons by the warring combatants. Next day there was more drinking, more hurrahing, more challenges, more fighting, and the "Blues" were compelled to bite the dust. But the fiercest struggle was over the headquarters of the rival candidates. The "Saracen's Head," one of the largest coaching inns in the Eastern Counties, occupied one side of the High Street, and was given over temporarily to the Sibthorpians, while the "Reindeer," immediately opposite, sheltered the followers of Bulwer. Somebody began it. Somebody always does. History telleth not who threw the first stone, but it was thrown and fell on glass. And windows were broken, and more followed, and next morning not a pane remained in the front elevation of either the broken Saracen's Head or the stricken Reindeer. And of such were the contested elections of our forefathers before the ballot was!

A further brief description of Sir E. L. Bulwer, taken from Fitzgerald Molloy's "The Most Gorgeous Lady Blessington," may be permissible before dismissing the subject of his connection with Lincoln. Says Molloy: "Descended from a family which, according to its own belief, had been settled in Norfolk since the Conquest, this member was, in bearing, a dainty patrician, eccentric in his ideas, and talented. In appearance he was of ordinary size, his hair light, his eyes pale blue, his nose prominent, and his mouth full-lipped. Before he had reached his twenty-fifth year he had married Rosina Doyle Wheeler, clever and witty, with a will and temper

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of her own." N. P. Willis writes a description of Bulwer, in which he tells of the possession of a voice lover-like and sweet, and says that his conversation was gay, quick, various, half-satirical, and always fresh and different from everybody else. "He seemed to talk," says Willis, "and could not help it; and affected everybody with his spirits." Willis describes him as "short, very much bent in the back, and as ill-dressed a man, for a gentleman, as you could find in London." The only commendable point in his person, we are told, was the smallest boot he had ever seen a man stand upon. In 1838, on account of his literary merit, he was made a baronet. Here is opportunity for the introduction of a "little incident."

During one of the contests in Lincoln, Bulwer, passing along the High Street, saw a large, vociferous and highly excited crowd assembled near the Stone Bow, and as earnestly engaged in the exchange of Doric expressions of sympathy and defiance as if they had entered into a taproom for political discussion. At the request of the member, who was leading a little lad, his eldest son, the crowd promptly opened its ranks, and he quietly stepped forward towards two huge and ugly dogs, each tugging at the other's throat, and each being in turn tugged at by its tail by two of the most brawny men in the crowd. Bulwer quietly took his snuffbox from his pocket and scattered its contents upon the noses of the warriors. In a second "the scene was changed." The dogs separated and were speedily out of sight, sneezing and snarling as they fled. Some votes were doubtless secured by this plucky and practical act which otherwise might not have been recorded in his favor.

My boyish interest in public men was not confined to those of my immediate locality, and during the thirties

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the name of Daniel O'Connell, the great Liberator, was heard in every shire in England, and there was no British statesman held in higher estimation than he who has been well entitled "the Member for All Ireland." My juvenile curiosity was one morning aroused by the announcement that the popular orator had reached Lincoln, that he was to remain for an hour, and that there was a hope that he would address the people before his departure for York, to the assize at which city he was making his way. A large crowd gathered in front of the "City Arms" hotel, where he was staying, and although rain was falling, loud cheers proclaimed the desire of the people to hear and applaud their hero. When he appeared at the gateway of the inn to enter his carriage, he was compelled, by the earnestness of the crowd, to offer some remarks to his impromptu audience. In response to the call, he mounted the driver's box seat, arrayed in overcoat, muffler, and travelling cap, and for a quarter of an hour uttered words so rousing and acceptable to his friendly hearers that almost every sentence was marked by cheers and applause, and when he got down from his novel rostrum, and felt the hearty hand-clasps of those near him, he must have thought how much akin were the Reformers of Ireland and the Radicals of England.

I had another experience of somewhat similar character, in seeing Richard Cobden and John Bright, and hearing Bright addressing a large crowd of farmers in the sheep market at Lincoln on the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws and the adoption of Free Trade. For this purpose I stole away from my work for a few precious minutes to obtain a glimpse, however brief, of men whom I admired so much. I had to hurry back, but I had seen them!

CHAPTER IV.

UPPER CANADA IN THE FORTIES.

Apprentice—Master and servant—A runaway's start—First railroad trip—The *Superb*—Upper Canada—Dress—Dear groceries—Cheap whiskey—Sixteen to one—Food—Open fireplaces—Buckwheat cakes—Maple sugar—Cattle—Steamboats on Grand River—From Buffalo to Brantford—Farming—Rattlesnakes—Wild pigeons—Decreased forest, fewer birds—Otter, trout and beaver.

WHEN I was a lad of about fourteen I was bound as apprentice to a large drapery or dry-goods concern in Lincoln, and in a service of between two and three years' duration acquired a fair knowledge of values and an ability to assure a customer what colors were fast and materials serviceable. When my indentures were signed, my widowed mother, following what was then a customary practice in England, paid a premium to my employers for instruction to be imparted to me, and at the close of the stipulated three years I was to resume my liberty. My mother remarried in the interval, and with her husband departed for America, arriving in Canada in 1843. Another relative resolved to follow in 1844, and wished me to accompany him. I asked my employers to remit the few weeks' service to which they still had legal claim. They refused my request. Desiring to have the guardianship of my relative, I renewed my petition. Again the application was without

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favorable result. I had conscientious scruples, but, alas! they withered almost ere they bloomed. My uncle secured berths for himself and family in the liner *Hottingeur*, to sail at an early date, and I determined to accompany him. On the last Sunday in April I was driven by a friend from Lincoln to Nottingham, and departed thence by rail that evening for Liverpool. This was my first experience of railway travel, and I well remember the sensations felt when I entered a carriage chained to a monster seemingly arrayed in green and gold, and we dashed off for Derby that night, and continued our journey past Manchester and Chat Moss next morning for Liverpool. I was disappointed when I reached that town and was informed that the *Hottingeur* would not start for New York for another week. I had £10 in my pocket, and its rapid diminution would render it impossible for me to go to Canada unless I made an immediate start. I studied the notices of departures and found that the first to leave Liverpool was the *Superb*, a timber and cotton ship built on the Clyde untold years before, and which went down off Greenock in the autumn gales of 1844. I need waste no space in telling in detail of its troubles and escapes. It landed us safely in New York six weeks after we had left Liverpool, and in the meantime we had run before a tremendous gale to the Sargasso Sea, been in close proximity to the West Indies, sailed under frozen rigging in the Northern Atlantic, and had opportunities to study the possible length and height of an Atlantic wave. We had been served with ship dog-biscuits and sprouting potatoes as a means of keeping body and soul together, until many were suffering from diarrhœa. We had medical remedies in the form of Epsom salts and castor oil, without a doctor to prescribe even them. It is not difficult to

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determine how much of my £10 remained to me when Staten Island came in sight and the end of our voyage was reached. Fortune favored me. Upon the day that the *Superb* cast anchor and landed her passengers, the *Hottingeur* arrived from Liverpool, having amongst her passengers my uncle and his family. I again became a capitalist by effecting a necessary loan, and on the following day started afresh for Canada. Going up the Hudson in a "tow" for Albany, we took passage in a mixed freight and passenger canal boat, transferred to a steamer at Buffalo, and landed at Port Robinson, on the Welland Canal, on the 23rd of June, 1844.

And here I purpose, as briefly as possible, to tell what knowledge of Upper Canadian life I acquired at that time and in several following years. What the Old World had learned through centuries of experience had evidently become the property of the new country at almost its first settlement. Making a home in the Niagara District in the forties was to find it speedily surrounded, in so far as mere necessary comforts went, in the older sections of Upper Canada at least, by conditions not far inferior to those existing in the world beyond the huge Atlantic waves. But there is a greater difference between the Upper Canada of to-day and that of half a century ago than there is between the England of the twentieth century and that of the earlier portion of the nineteenth. On dress, homes, travel, education, food, speech—in every particular item of daily life, in fact—the stamp of progress has been placed.

Let us make comparison with the dress of sixty years ago, and take the ordinary working farmer of that day as our lay figure. Heavy full-cloth, satinette, coarse linsey-woolsey shirting, all of home manufacture, com-

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fortable, strong and serviceable, formed the staple of his wear. Stoga boots and home-made and coarse straw hats generally completed his costume. In winter his headdress was often a cap of fur, made from the skin of an animal shot by himself, and, for the season of frost, replaced the nearly universal hand-plaited summer straw. Home-made wincey and flannel, with a printed calico dress, and a black Orleans or alpaca for "best wear," were the pride and ambition of the farmer's wife. Canada tweeds were unknown, fine "boughten" and imported flannels were little used, and a black silk was a rarity. Woollen hoods in winter, a straw hat or sun-bonnet in summer, with a go-to-meetin' hat or bonnet, formed the headgear of our gentle country cousins. "Plug" or silk hats were uncommon, producible at funerals and regarded as a venerable remnant of Old Country finery. Broad-leaved hats of felt were, it may be added, the outcome of the visit made to America by Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot. Town folk made a near approach to European fashions, but they were often a year or two behind those of the motherland.

Food, which is ever regarded as, at least, next in importance to dress, partook of a similar simplicity. Salt meat, eggs and potatoes were the staple edibles after bread. Fresh meat, in country parts, was at some seasons a comparative luxury. Veal was obtainable in spring, mutton in summer, and beef or pork in the fall or winter months, while poultry was generally marketed as soon as possible after the fattening stubbles were exhausted. Fancy groceries were actual luxuries. I have seen currants sold at "three yorkers" ($37\frac{1}{2}$ cents) a pound; and raisins, of a poorer quality than we now see, often commanded "a quarter." Tea was dear, although duties were low, and frequently brought a dollar; and

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coffee, cheaper in proportion, was more freely used. Native fruits were cheap. Peaches were bought off the tree in the Niagara District for twenty-five cents a bushel; apples had little commercial value, and cherries could be had, in rural localities in the Niagara District, at twenty-five cents "a tree," the purchaser picking off the fruit. Ale and beer were obtainable, of drinkable quality, in town, but little of either reached country parts. Cider was often used, the most desirable being "frozen," so that the watery element was largely eliminated and a very potent intoxicant produced. Whiskey, the common drink of the country, could be had at any of the numerous distilleries, by the barrel, at sixteen or twenty cents the gallon, and there were few "bees," "loggings," or "raisings" at which it was not more freely dispensed than water, and there was a prevalent opinion that it was much more wholesome. Venison, now a luxury, was a common article of food in many sections, and obtainable at three or four cents a pound. Wild pigeons, pheasants or partridges, grouse, wild ducks and quail were offered at figures which would be startling to people with modern ideas of value. Maple sugar and molasses were as common an article for "trading" transactions, in country stores, as home-made straw hats, butter, tallow, dried apples, timothy seed, woollen socks, whittled butter ladles, bowls and axe-helves.

Dwellings were more advanced, probably, in proportion to the age of a settlement, than food or dress. While the majority of houses were of logs—the first building material used by the settlers in a new section of country—frame buildings of sawn boards superseded them in older settlements, and preceded the more substantial erections of brick and stone which now so liberally deck the landscape in many of our farming districts. There

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was not much of what is termed architectural beauty, or even variety, but then, as now, solid comfort was the distinguishing feature of Canadian homes. The open-air fireplace in the living-room, the huge backlog, the piled-up fire on winter nights, which often afforded light as well as warmth, held undisputed sway before the growing scarcity of fuel made the dark and frowning cook-stove a sad and unavoidable necessity. That fire-side was a home institution from which men and women gradually broke loose; and many look back with regret to the day when the andirons kept in place the crackling logs and the griddle, swung over the blazing fire, sent forth sweet music to the crowd of hungry girls and boys, as the sizzling lard or chunk of fat pork made it ready for the batter whence came those steaming buckwheat cakes of cinnamon brown on either side, and which, piping hot, were food for gods, girls and boys, and hardy backwoodsmen.

Sixty years back, the cattle on the hills, the sheep in the meadow, the hogs in the beech woods, the cows in the pasture, and the horses and oxen at the plough were farther apart from their successors of to-day than aught else that Canada has brought forth and improved. The pail was the test of the cow, and other points were nowhere. Beef wasn't king. Butter was but the key to unlock the stores from which the good housewife filled her tea-caddy, replenished the sugar-bowl, secured her bonnet, or renewed those store clothes which it was the darling desire of her heart to possess. Nearly every "boughten" thing owned by her had come from the churn or the hennery. If cows were "mixed," swine, the pork factors, were as ugly as that famous possessor of them who drove them pell-mell into the sea, and wore manes as do the wild boars of a German forest. Sheep

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were of a degenerated Merino breed, small in size and of little value for mutton, and the selling price, minus the skin, was often as low as one dollar the carcase. Cattle were sometimes large when, at four or five years of age, they reached maturity, but even then were bony, coarse, and more of active than adipose tendencies. There were but few men known as breeders of thoroughbred stock, and you could have counted on the fingers of both hands the names of those who had imported such animals from Great Britain. The Provincial Exhibition had not begun its work of instruction and book-farming. The horse, smart, quick, active and manageable, was the best and most valuable product of the farm, and for general purposes came more closely to the rural idea of the fitness of things than his more pretentious and, it may be, better pedigreed successor. If he could not command fancy prices, he was worth more money than the average horse of to-day, could do quite as much work, and was as handy and useful a farmer's friend on the road as on the farm. But if our horse does not show that widely spread and general superiority which might reasonably have been expected, the roads upon which he now travels are, from every standpoint, a vast improvement upon those of half a century ago. What can the settler of to-day, in any section of old Upper Canada, tell of corduroys, log crossways and culverts, jolting mud-holes, wide and deep, of ditches absent where most needed, of huge stumps round which wagon wheels or sled runners slipped or bumped, of sticky clay piled into yawning chasms, or of big boulders dumped into a hole only to make jumping, groaning, creaking, squeaking wheels work a wider margin of sloppy, slushy, indescribable confusion.

In the county of Haldimand, in the summer days, a

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steamboat ran from Dunnville to Brantford, carrying passengers and merchandise, and was a great convenience to the people resident on the banks of the stream—"Grand River Roarers" they were termed—but the Grand River Navigation Company saw that the investment was a poor one, and the enterprise was abandoned.

To remain successful in life, in Canada or elsewhere, without work was then, as now, an impossibility, and I willingly took such as offered. My relatives had made an unfortunate purchase of what proved to be a worn-out farm in the township of Canboro', about seven miles from Dunnville, and the struggle to help reclaim and improve this occupied the summer and fall of 1844. Everything was novel, and I revelled in the wonders which the new land presented to the callow Englishman. Bird and beast, reptile and insect, all were previously unknown to me, and I lost no time in making myself familiar with their appearance and habits. I was told which to avoid, and the rattlesnake, having the worst reputation, became my special aversion. The first which I killed was basking in the sun heat of a summer day, and an oak rail, taken from a fence at hand and vigorously used, speedily rendered him harmless. A companion escaped. While engaged, on another day, in "loading" a crop of peas, I threw a bundle of the vines upon the wagon, when one of the dangerous reptiles wriggled to the ground and I despatched him with my fork. At the same time my comrade on the wagon warned me that another rattler was crawling past me. I turned to strike, but my intended victim had disappeared below a large and decayed pine stump. After the crop was gathered the stump was burnt, and in the following year rattlers were an unknown quantity in that locality.

In travelling upon the roads in that neighborhood it

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was not unusual to see a dead rattler, or other large snake, adorning a roadside fence, and on a summer's morning the road was marked with lines through the thick dust indicating where snakes had passed in the night. In that section of country the several other varieties of snakes were regarded as harmless, but to kill every such reptile seen was thought to be the duty of the good citizen.

Canboro', near which village was my home, was but a few miles from Lake Erie, and in the various creeks small turtles were found in abundance, taking their wide-awake nap morning, evening and night, while there were others of the snapping variety large enough to adorn an aldermanic table.

Birds were plentiful in numbers and variety, and many were common then which now are seldom seen. The disappearance of the forest, and the increased number of boys and guns, account largely for the falling off in the extent of the annual migration from south to north, and this is to be regretted. In the days to which I refer the cardinal bird was often seen, herons were numerous, humming-birds were comparatively abundant in their coats of bronze and carmine, and quail were to be seen and heard, with their call of "Bob White," late in fall, early in spring, often in winter, and always throughout the summer months. Partridges, with their peculiar drumming in spring and fall, were heard on every farm, and the king of the woods, the large red-headed woodpecker, a splendid variety of our summer visitors, was no rarity. The tanager, with his adornment of crimson and black, brightened field, forest and garden more often before the devastation of our woodland, but now is seldom found in locations of altitude and barrenness. Ducks of one variety or other are still

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food for the sportsman in decreased numbers. But the bird most missed is the passenger pigeon. Large flocks of these birds were last seen by me in 1866. They flew in numbers each morning in June and July of that year across the St. Clair into Michigan, and returned at night to roost in northern Ontario. The flocks were not so large as in some previous years, and were the last of which I have any record. In the fall of 1844 I saw one flight, or probably many smaller flights embodied in one huge mass for migratory purposes, cross the field of view near Canboro', darkening the sky so that the morning seemed dull, travelling from east to west, and occupying more than an hour in its flight. Whence the birds came none knew, but on other occasions when these wild pigeons were killed, rice had been often found in their crops, and old hunters surmised that it had been taken from the fields of North Carolina—a prodigious flight, although a possible and probable one. The rate of flight and its great height while the birds were passing over Lake Ontario *en route* gave strength to this theory. Roosts were found in the townships north of Elora, and I visited one in the township of Maryboro' where the birds were breeding in large numbers in the branches of lofty elms growing there in full luxuriance. The return and departure of the birds engaged in feeding their young was continuous, and fully warranted the description given by Fenimore Cooper when he told of the thunder-like noise produced by the wings of arriving and departing birds engaged in their parental duties.

The lessening of the number of birds owes much to decreased forest, the frivolities of fashion in the love of feather trimmings, and a target practice which takes a life for every good shot. The whip-poor-will, the red-headed

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woodpecker, the scarlet tanager, the blue-jay, the oriole, the canary have been diminished in numbers as the woods have disappeared. The gun has been more devastating than the axe.

With the disappearance of birds there is a marked lessening in the number of the wild animals which came, at one time or other, to the doors of our rural population. At Canboro' I saw twelve deer disporting themselves, in the shining sunlight of a fine winter afternoon, upon the ice formed on the mill-dam, and smaller herds of them—a family or two running together—had their "runs" in the woods of some of the old farms of the locality. Otter had their "slides" upon the banks of the Grand River, in which stream large trout were then abundant; and within half a mile of Elora beavers cut down trees in the vain instinctive hope of damming the big stream which, with rising waters, swept away their good intentions. Wolves howled vigorously nightly through fall and winter. Lynx were sometimes trapped and often seen in woods bordering upon the village, while foxes and the smaller faunæ were more plentiful than profitable.

In those days a good shot was a man of lofty reputation, and a turkey-shooting match was one of the highest forms of rural enjoyment. A horse race had innumerable fascinations, but to be able to snuff a candle with a rifle bullet, and to drive a nail into a stump, across a road diagonally fired over, was a feat entitling the performer to applause sweeter than that awarded to the most successful jockey or politician.

We have reason to be thankful that since the times of which I have told change has placed its hand upon nearly everything, and, in the vast majority of instances, for the benefit of mankind. Life is made more and more worth

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living. Every little detail of household routine has been improved. We cook with ranges almost perfect in their approach to autonomy. We have passed from saleratus to yeast, and improved each adjunct to our daily life. We have thrown aside the lancet, and placed the bath or its equivalent tub in every household. We have turned over the sturdy ox to the willing butcher, and substituted the horse and mule for agricultural operations. We have banished the whiskey still from the premises of every miller. We no longer nauseate the child with castor oil, Epsom salts, brimstone and treacle, and the hundred other terrors of the sick-room provided for the juvenile patient. The tablet and tabloid have brought in a needed revolution, and with the homœopathic dose have sweetened life to the invalid whether young or old.

CHAPTER V.

FROM 1844 TO 1849.

Farming—Fever and ague—Change of scene—Good water powers—Drugs and literature—A green editor, genial and Irish—A startling proposal—A Reform training—Robert Smiley—Press reforms—Party feeling high—Lord Elgin—Adorn a pageant or grace a feast—Rebellion Losses Bill—Unpopular if just—An old argument given full play—Paving stones and politics—A genuine ovation—Spoiled eggs and faded patriotism—"Fire"—A magnificent library destroyed—Lord Elgin rewarded—His progress through Upper Canada a triumph—Ashes of Ste. Anne.

FROM 1844 to 1848 I spent most of my time in farming, at Canboro', in the county of Haldimand, and although as an agriculturist I was not what is termed a brilliant success, I could have lived there comfortably, performing the ordinary work of ploughing, seeding, harrowing and gathering, had not severe attacks of fever and ague rendered removal a necessity. A friend, who knew the country well and had travelled over much of the older portion of Ontario, invited me to visit with him a section of the province in which ague was unknown and land was as fertile as any in Upper Canada. His advice was taken; a new home was sought for and found at a recently formed village, Elora, about thirteen miles north of Guelph, and affording a settler opportunity of growing up with it to prosperity. The idea

of farming at that time was abandoned, and a mercantile life seemed to afford quicker and better means for securing a comfortable home. But the money which we had when we came from England was about exhausted, and it was necessary to start afresh in an effort to make Canadian dollars replace the English sovereigns which had slowly but certainly disappeared, first in buying a worn-out farm at a high price, and later in buildings and in securing the means of subsistence which the meagre crop from the exhausted land failed to provide. Upon the farm at Canboro' we had built a frame house, covered in a large space for shed, stable and feeding purposes, and then found that sixty acres of poor land would require some years for the recuperation of the vegetable matter which had disappeared. We ultimately sold this property for \$800 to a respectable and intelligent farmer from the county of York. He was a keen son of Scotia, was not deceived as to the situation, and thought he knew what he was about, but a year's experience convinced him that he had made a poor investment, and he was doubtless glad to escape from an illimitable supply of Canada thistles and the innumerable bodily evils which a malarial atmosphere produces.

Elora was then in its infancy and had less than two hundred inhabitants. Upon the north side of the town plot two houses had been erected, with a mill run by a company, a distillery—an almost necessary adjunct to a flour mill in those days—furnishing spirituous comfort to all who sought it. A more beautiful site for a flourishing town could not well be imagined. A fall of forty feet down a limestone escarpment gave enormous power on the Grand River, where a dam had been erected, which, for many months in the year, was filled with abundance of water. The rocks, covered with cedar, pine, maple,

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elm, beech, spruce, hemlock and basswood, were amongst the most attractive features of the scene, and within two hundred yards came the junction of the Grand and Irvine rivers. Less than a mile up the Irvine were two other "powers," while down the Grand itself, about another mile away, was a fall taking in the waters of the combined streams.

After removing from Canboro' to Elora, it was deemed advisable that I should learn more of the business customs of the country. Walking about forty miles from Elora to Hamilton, then a growing city though of small population, and meeting with friends, I secured a position as assistant in a drug store. Here, at odd intervals, I jotted down remembrances of the scenes on the banks of the Grand River at Elora, and, ambitious of seeing myself in print, had sent them anonymously to the editor of the *Journal and Express*. Solomon Brega, its editor, gave to the compositor scraps of editorial matter and long "takes" from current literature and Toronto and local newspapers, such information as might seem necessary to continued existence of himself and his organ. He liked to take things easily, and wore as many smiles—and genuine, too—as brightened any face I had ever seen. He was genial, a good fellow, and had seen something of English newspaper life, notably in the office of the *London Morning Chronicle*, and his reminiscences were as interesting as they were novel.

I had sent in my contribution without any pen-name, but it was printed, and I was happy. In the next issue appeared a request that the writer of the article would favor the editor with a call. I called, and was told that the editor wished to spend two weeks at Niagara Falls, and requested me to take charge of his newspaper during his absence! I had never read a "proof," nor had I

written a line upon Canadian politics, and thought the request as comic as it was seriously intended. As a boy I had become a member of the Anti-Corn Law League, and written an address "to the young men of England" in favor of Free Trade, which had been politely returned to me by Mr. Richard Cobden himself. I had the advantage of extensive newspaper reading before I left England, and had some slight acquaintance with Chartist demands for Reform. I had, too, read the *Toronto Examiner* previous to and after my arrival in Canada, and was sympathetic with the Liberal party of the province. I was thus but poorly prepared for the performance of such a task as was set before me. I consulted my employer, and he told me I could work at the editorship during the evening, and learn the drug business in the day. Upon these conditions I set to work upon the *Express*, and managed to get through my fortnight's labor in such fashion that the result of the arrangement was my ultimate settlement in the sanctum, the acquisition of a somewhat imperfect knowledge of drugs, and a mental state of mingled enthusiasm and conviction that many men can do more work than they believe themselves capable of—until they attempt it. In Hamilton the *Gazette*, the extreme Tory organ, was the property of Mr. Bull, and was conducted with fairness; and the *Hamilton Spectator* had recently been established by Mr. Robert Smiley, a man full of enterprise, who built up his paper into the form which for years has made it into a profitable property, while its rivals, conducted on old-fashioned lines, have long been dead.

In those days the scurrilous pen was the strong one, and invective was even more attractive to the ordinary reader than the most polished sentences. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that a young fellow full of

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“go,” and well satisfied with his lucubrations, penned words he would be ashamed to utter to-day, and descended so low as to find himself applying the name of Marryatt’s “Snarleyow” to the editor of the *Spectator*. And it was thought to be a great hit. Times have changed. The amenities of the press are now as fully observed as are those of private life. The political instructor does not find strong and coarse words necessary when making a point. In saying that times are changed, it is, however, necessary to remember that party feeling ran high in 1848, that all Europe was aglow with the fervor of revolutionary progress, and that men were shaken out of their jog-trot beatitude into incipient warfare between parties. While kingly thrones were tottering, and universal crash seemed possible and near, we were as a people approaching the brink of civil war.

In 1849 came the Rebellion Losses Bill and the burning of the Parliament Buildings at Montreal, accompanied by that foolish exhibition of the Black Flag, which sets us thinking what arrant blunderers some of the leaders of those days were.

Public opinion was peculiarly sensitive, and readily took offence at language said to have been used by Lord Elgin at a public dinner, whereat he significantly said: “I did not come to Canada to adorn a pageant or to grace a feast.”

These words were at once seized upon by some Reformers as indicative of the speaker’s intention to interfere with the action of the responsible government won after so many fierce political battles in its behalf; and by Conservatives as indicating the instructions which had been given by the British Government to the Governor-General. The stenographer’s report, on revision, was pronounced to be incorrect, and the obnoxious words

explained as a slip of the pen. In fact, the stenographer, I was informed, admitted that his notes were mixed and that he had at this point confused them. The necessary changes were made, but the general feeling in regard to the matter afforded another illustration of the uncertainty—sometimes only—of press reports and corrections. Lord Elgin was too well trained a statesman and diplomat to wilfully make such an uncalled-for display of authority, and he, the best judge of his intended sayings, explicitly denied the use of the words imputed to him. It must be conceded that, at the worst, he did not intend to use such language, and never entertained the idea which it appears to convey.

This was but an incident, however, and had nothing to do with the excited state of the public mind over the introduction and passage of what was known as "The Rebellion Losses Bill," intended to cover the losses sustained by innocent and loyal men whose property had been destroyed during the progress of the recent rebellion. The measure met with much adverse criticism from the Conservative party, then in opposition under the lead of Sir Allan MacNab, member for Hamilton in the United Parliament; and his followers, in both Upper and Lower Canada, were lashed into fury by their belief that the bill was intended to cover the losses of traitors as well as those of actual sufferers. The measure was undoubtedly a compromise which seemed to be a fair instalment of justice to many innocent men who had materially suffered at the hands of loyalists and rebels during the troubles of 1838. Amongst them were some who had probably—nay, undoubtedly—been guilty of treason, but not of overt acts. To discriminate, when public money was to be distributed, was difficult, but it seemed certain that no great number of applicants could thus impose

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upon officials deputed to make legal payment for injuries reported and proved to have been committed.

When the Union was effected there was aroused a strong feeling as to the location of the seat of government, and Montreal had been selected as being, in popular estimation, the most suitable position for the purpose. Ste. Anne's Market was occupied temporarily, pending arrangements for a proper building. The discussion of the Rebellion Losses had filled such room as was available, at the sittings of both the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly, with excited and riotously inclined citizens. The debate going on in both bodies had been of acrimonious character, and had aroused the passions of the hearers of the various addresses. The old race feuds were revived. The fact that the bill was to receive the Royal Assent—that it had not been reserved—was regarded as an open challenge by the denouncers of the measure. But when, on the 26th of April, 1849, the Governor-General had entered the Hall of the Council and given sanction to the bill, at the same time that he placed his *imprimatur* upon a solitary other bill relating to the customs, the rage of the street opponents of the Losses Bill became unmanageable. What to do was the query bandied from one to the other, and an answer was speedily suggested. The Governor having, on his way to Monklands, crossed the upper front of the city, an attempt was made to overtake and assail him with missiles on his return, and "short cuts" were ordered, so that he might be reached. There was a willingness on the part of the mob to obey orders, but the horses in the rushing "pageant" outraced their pursuers. There were those, however, who knew the topography of Montreal and succeeded in waylaying the carriage, and eggs previously collected for the purpose, and

paving stones picked up by the way, were thrown at its occupants. One of these, two pounds in weight, reached Major Bruce, aide to His Lordship, and eggs were plentifully smashed over the carriage. The gallant Major had received a foul blow, but warded off some dangerous ones intended for his superior.

But madly foolish as this attack had been, there was worse to follow. The House of Assembly continued in session during the evening, unapprehensive of further trouble. About 8 p.m. a wild mob had assembled on the Champ de Mars, and, directed by a mere handful of well-dressed men, started towards Ste. Anne's. Arrived there, their anger was further inflamed by the sight of the lighted windows, which told them that the men who had passed the hated bill were still inside. What followed is well known. A little smoke, a glint of flame, a cry of "Fire!" and the evil was done. By whom, no person cared to ask. The doors were opened wide, the flames rapidly spread, and everything having the semblance of authority was torn down and trampled on. The library, one of the finest of a public and scholastic character in America, was destroyed, partly by fury, partly by fire. Comparatively little that was rare or valuable was saved in its integrity. The portrait of the Queen was carefully taken from its place on the wall and protected. The mace, the emblem of the authority securing the liberties of the people, was forcibly taken from G. K. Chisholm, Esq., Sergeant-at-Arms, who was knocked down while guarding it. It was subsequently carried to the rooms of Sir A. MacNab and duly sheltered. The loss of the mace would have been comparatively small. Her Majesty's portrait could have been reproduced, but the destruction of the Parliamentary Library, with its single and rare copies of literary trea-

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tures, and its collection of the records of many of the early settlers of America, whether French or Spanish, Dutch or English, inflicted an irreparable injury, and was a loss which must be forever deplored. The active attack upon responsible government by a handful of its Montreal opponents, the disgraceful resort to brute force by their admirers, and the determination evinced to continue and extend the hostile display, though almost forgotten now, threatened to annihilate the homogeneity springing then into being, and which has at last become the first hope of all who care for national advancement and prosperity.

Lord Elgin was speedily to receive his reward for his consistency, firmness and constitutionality. Every supporter of responsible government saw in his acceptance of the Rebellion Losses Bill the first marked instance of full recognition of the principle at the foundation of all British rule. The representatives of the people had declared that bill to be a response to the will of the electorate, and His Excellency, having no valid reason to combat such a plain expression of opinion, unflinchingly did his duty as a representative of Her Majesty. Upper Canada, aroused by the violence of Montreal, resorted to public meetings, whence emanated addresses to the Crown, and invitations to His Excellency to visit Upper Canada and witness for himself the loyalty and fidelity of the vast majority of its people. Even if dubious of his reception in certain quarters, he gladly accepted the invitations, and proceeded on an extended tour of Upper Canada. At every important point he was met by enthusiastic crowds, and in but two localities did he receive intentional slight or insult.

He had excellent reason for his faith in Upper Canadians, for he had seen them at a time when their modera-

tion and good sense were sorely tried. The reception given to the abused and egg-bespattered ruler came opportunely in its heartiness, its thorough sincerity, its practical solution of theoretical problems, and its earnest expression of opinion in favor of the fullest possible freedom of the citizen. Verily, in his progress through Canada West, he adorned many pageants and graced many feasts, and had paved a way towards reconciliation between the Upper and Lower Provinces and the laying of a firm foundation of a new people.

The exasperated feelings of the opponents of the Reform Governments did not readily subside, and had to find vent in an expression of feeling so unexpected—so inconsistent when coming from a party of professed loyalists—as a declaration of a publicly expressed desire for the annexation of the two Canadas to the United States. In the see-saw of politics the unexpected had happened, and was, perhaps, a thing not to be surprised at. Politics, it is proverbial, makes strange bedfellows. The great bulk of Upper Canadians were at first puzzled, then wonderstruck, and then convulsed with laughter. They knew that the spoiled boys, playing truant for the moment, would soon be back and seeking again to hold their own in the game of politics. And so ended a mad fiasco.

But greater results followed. The seat of government was removed to a temporary home in Toronto and Quebec by turns, but there was a general desire for permanency in preference to perambulation. That desire had much to do with the changes which speedily came. From evil sprang good, and a united Canada, and the great Dominion which bears its name, arose from the ashes of Ste. Anne.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REBELLION.

Family Compact rule—"Rebellion" not formidable—Men more frightened than hurt—William Lyon Mackenzie—A poor soldier but brave man—Unselfish and patriotic.

WHEN I arrived in Canada, in June, 1844, the flames of the Rebellion had died out, but there was a smouldering afterglow in their ashes, indicative of a depth of feeling suppressed rather than neutralized. Men do not rebel without a sense of ill-usage, a conviction that a government is tyrannical or careless of public interests, and that it has indulged in favoritism towards its intimate friends instead of listening to the grievances of an outraged community. That feeling had, under what is known as "Family Compact rule," found expression at last in a resort to arms; and although the rising was, in Upper Canada, neither formidable nor general, it clearly indicated what was possible and probable, and frightened the ruling power into a partial concession of the popular demands.

The suppression of the Rebellion, as the *emeute* was heroically named, was the affair of a few days, almost of hours, and no great glory could be awarded to the winners in the one-sided contest. A large majority of the electorate sought fair representation of their individual and collective rights, but they were not prepared to plunge the country into the horrors of civil war, if they

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could in constitutional fashion find redress of wrongs. The troubles were of comparatively light extent. In Toronto alone were they of formidable character, and only in the very centre of the province—the heart of the country—was there serious danger from the attack upon Canadians by Canadians. An American element had as much to do with the insurrection as had the grievances complained of by the Reformers of York and elsewhere. Political partizanship of the usual character was almost absent from the minds of men, while sympathy with the oppressed and resentment at the outrageous misconduct of some public officials in Toronto were prominent amongst the causes which drove a portion of a loyal colony into a rebellious attitude. A few words may suffice to describe the leader of a temporary revolt.

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE was a born agitator, but no soldier. He could readily arouse the enthusiasm of the electorate, but had not a single element of the military leader beyond a personal courage which none denied to him. But his Rebellion—for it was almost exclusively his—was ill-advised, short-lived, incoherent and hysterical. Actual rebellion was not warranted, although the result of the consciousness on the part of many people that the wrongs endured by them were becoming unendurable, and that, at some not very distant time, a general protest of a physical character might be essential to the securing of reforms anxiously sought as necessary to the freedom of the people. That time had not arrived, for while the hatred of what was looked upon as an oligarchy undoubtedly prevailed, individual suffering had not reached the average man, and it was confidently hoped that agitation before and after the next general election would bring about reform. Mackenzie's impatience precipitated an avoidable outbreak, and the

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incipient display of a totally unorganized force destroyed the only chance of successful rebellion, even had such been expedient and desirable. It was impossible to so magnify a political contest into the importance of a War of Roses, or in this fashion to create a parallel to Cromwellian deeds in the actions of a newspaper editor who was stronger in the use of scare headlines than in holding a boarding pike or a claymore. The Rebellion, as it was extravagantly termed, was of premature birth, and fortunately ended less disastrously than might have been expected. The consequent fiasco was sure to attend a war attempted without small-arms, artillery, money, food, clothing, or sufficient supplies, or any of the essentials to successful warfare. Mackenzie appears to have feared that some other person would run the risk sooner than he, and receive the ovation which he expected and coveted. But while this idea of his conduct may be common to many, none can dispute the existence of his honest conviction that he was right. Personal sacrifice never daunted him. The vindictive diatribes of an opponent did not make him quail. He courted rather than dreaded the attacks of a wordy antagonist. He dearly loved a fight, with pen or tongue as his weapon. He was happy in the midst of wordy turbulence. The Family Compact was his *bête noir*, but he never feared it. The most rabid attacks upon his political beliefs but aroused him to more vigorous defence. His personal honesty was generally admitted. For mere money, excepting as a means to a great end, he did not hanker. As the head of a family he was a devoted father. Upon his private character there was not a stain, although his most inveterate enemies would have gladly exposed it if it had existed. He had many of the characteristics of the successful politician, but few of those attached to

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the doings of a demagogue. He was earnest, courageous and patriotic, but lacked that prudence and caution so commonly associated with one's idea of his countrymen. He never forgot Canada, even when expatriated from it. He was not given to sulking in his tent, and would rather "fight it out" with friend or foe than shirk the battle. He was not a mere money-maker, and had an open hand with which to give when assured that pecuniary help was necessary. He was naturally impulsive, and not always discriminating in his attacks, but hurt no man willingly. I have heard much of him from men who were his political allies, but never a word which lowered my estimation of him as a man.

CHAPTER VII.

WILLIAM MACDOUGALL AND THE "CLEAR GRIT" PLATFORM.

"A famous victory"—Montgomery's Hotel—A northern migration—A pen portrait—An impossible partizan—The *North American* platform—"Reformer's" letters—Convention of June, 1867—An exasperated crowd—Macdougall and Howland—George Brown aroused—Macdougall at heart a Liberal—Did great work—Planks of the platform—"Clear Grit."

ONE of the chief advocates of advanced reforms in Upper Canada was William Macdougall, who was born near the town of York, now the city of Toronto, on the 25th of January, 1822. He told me that one of his early recollections as a lad was of his standing out of doors in the cold wind of a December night in 1837, and watching the destruction by fire of Montgomery's hotel, which was in the neighborhood of his birthplace. His curiosity had led him to follow the movements of the rebels before their abrupt "migration to the north."

"'And what good came of it at last?'

Quoth little Peterkin.

'Why that I cannot tell,' said he,

'But 'twas a famous victory.'"

"'But what they killed each other for,

I could not well make out ;

But everybody said,' quoth he,

'That 'twas a famous victory.'"

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This conflagration made an indelible impression upon the mind of the coming politician, and he talked with enthusiasm of that night's experiences, which years after cropped up again and again and served to intensify the feeling of opposition to the oligarchy of those days as he knew it and had been taught to know it.

He was a man of active mental power, and exhibited many of the traits which have ever distinguished the leaders of the people. While, however, he early developed a love of discussion and facility in the production of a line of argument of strongly convincing character to himself and hearers, he lacked the pertinacity necessary to pronounced success. His association with party men and measures was not continuous, nor was it always the result of permanent conviction. To-day he was sincere in the belief that he had taken an unassailable stand; to-morrow he might be found battering the stronghold which he had previously sustained, or, possibly, veering towards some other point, and quickening his pace as he approached it. He frequently displayed a personal coldness which appeared to be cynical and repellant—an unfortunate manner, neither more nor less. To those who knew him thoroughly he possessed attractive qualities which were not always perceptible on the surface. At times he lacked interest in his associations of a political character which made him a doubtful supporter of others, while always a champion of self.

And having reluctantly but candidly said this, I have told what I regard as the sole cause of his political failure, and said all of a deprecatory character that could be fairly brought against him.

I knew him well as a correspondent and editor, and found him always inclined to lean to the side of extended popular liberty, but preferring to seek the road to it in

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his own fashion. His individuality was strongly marked and distinguished him, and was genuine but subject to prevailing moods. George Brown declared himself to be a governmental impossibility, but William Macdougall proved himself to be an impossible partisan.

With him I conjointly prepared "The Planks in the Grit Platform," published in the *North American*, and when it was published wrote the accompanying series of letters, signed "Reformer," which were extensively copied and approved by the majority of the comparatively few Reform journals of that period. At the same time I was associate editor of the semi-weekly *Hamilton Journal and Express*. Strange to tell, but it is nevertheless true, I could not secure the original insertion of these letters in that paper, although, as copied from the *Toronto Mirror*, then very ably edited by Dr. Workman, they were ordered by Mr. Brega, proprietor of the *Journal*, to be regularly reproduced in his semi-weekly.

The *Toronto Globe* occasionally answered them, but its editor was not in sympathy with the radical ideas of William Macdougall and the rising "Clear Grit" party.

I have said that William Macdougall had many of the characteristic points necessary to the winning hand. He had one which transcended all others. He was courageous—it may have been to a fault—but he had the moral courage as necessary to the politician as to the statesman. He never quailed before an opponent. There was a notable proof of the possession of this admirable quality. What stronger illustration could he have given of the existence of this power over himself and others than in the bold front worn by him when standing face to face with his opponents in the Toronto Convention of the 27th of June, 1867? With men who had lately been his trusted and trusting allies, now fiercely attacking

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him and seeking to wither him with burning looks of antagonism and contempt, he declared his belief that, though manifestly wrong in the eyes of a thousand united partisans, he and William Howland were probably the only men then present who foresaw the immediate future which would compel every delegate to confess his error. The crowd hissed and howled, shouted contradiction and derision, and refused him hearing. William Howland cowered before the tumultuous assemblage, and sat as if he were a bound victim in the presence of his determined executioners; but William Macdougall stood erect, folded his arms as if defiant of the noisy throng, and calmly awaited the threatened onslaught. Growing ashamed of a demonstration of a thousand against one, which with every passing moment increased in its stupid intensity until it reached an undignified climax, manliness reasserted itself. A partial silence followed. Curiosity overcame intense denunciation. Gradually the sibilant interruptors became patient hearers. It may have been sheer impudence on the part of the unit, but the man conquered the multitude and was permitted, with occasional interruptions, to tell his story briefly but strongly, and make predictions of which some were verified at a not very distant date. To a limited extent he had disarmed the semi-ferocity of his opponents, and undoubtedly satisfied himself that he was a martyr. With him and his few supporters remained a hazy halo of victory, of, however, doubtful worth or quality. George Brown was still there, and to a large extent predominant. He paced the platform from end to end, shook his fist fiercely in the face of William Howland, who crouched in apparent dread of the great tribune's invective, and made a sorry figure trembling on the edge of that vituperative display.

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William Howland, if not William Macdougall, received much sympathy from old friends who had ventured into the show. It is doubtful whether the Reform party proper had gained from the exhibition of petulant personal feeling and rant, and while Macdougall probably did not influence seriously a single independent delegate, or secure the conversion of even one old Reformer, the leader of the great bulk of the progressive party had the satisfaction of knowing that he had given a "combin' down" to William Howland and warned the Reform party against the machinations of William Macdougall and Sir John Macdonald.

Of the erratic political character of William Macdougall it is not my intention to further speak. The same story could be told of many of those who have or have had much to do with Canadian administrations, and I feel no disposition to select the career of one who occasionally departed from party lines as a dreadful example. As I have said, he had party proclivities and predilections, and not only initiated great changes, but honestly and fearlessly fought for them. At heart he was a Liberal, and there was no man in Upper Canada, outside of Oliver Mowat and Edward Blake, whose name was connected with so many suggestions of needed action. Glance over the long list of changes advocated in the *North American* of 1851, and see how many of them have been adopted and how few are still undetermined, in one shape or other.

William Macdougall's marked success was in the introduction to the readers of the *North American* of the platform erected in the columns of his journal, and which had been preceded by the Liberal line taken by the *Toronto Mirror*, which, under the editorial control of Dr. Joseph Workman (afterwards superintendent of the

Toronto Asylum for the Insane), was a warm supporter of what then seemed to be propositions better fitted for Utopia than Upper Canada, but which, like the planks of the Chartist movement in Great Britain, became component parts of British and Canadian laws. It is true that, in a few particulars, the "Clear Grit" movement did not succeed in bringing about desired reforms, but the unattained may fairly be regarded as non-essential, or as matters to be dealt with in coming days of still more advanced ideas. But, in its main points, the "Clear Grit" platform of 1851 has been embodied in our laws, or has led to other measures of equal value and importance. Since its introduction we have made great progress in our proposal and passage of legislative and other changes, and the law-maker would be scoffed at as a relic of the past who would regard as an extreme measure that which, less than half a century ago, was denounced as Republican, or fit only for "Yankee" uses.

A rapid survey of the laws sought to be repealed, enacted, or amended in 1850 will convince the reader of the anomalies which then existed in our code. By what has been undone we may guess somewhat of the extent and character of that which had previously been done, and see cause to thank any man who had endeavored to effect the removal of legal and other absurdities out of place in the nineteenth century.

The first plank in the platform, asking the power to elect a governor, a legislative council and all local officers, has not been adopted in full detail, even if admitted in principle. Since the declaration of this plank Confederation has come, and the election of our provincial governors is in the hands of a cabinet indirectly responsible to the provincial electorate. Up to the passage of Baldwin's Municipal Act, in 1849, County

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wardens were selected by the Government of Upper Canada, while now every distinctly municipal official is the choice of the electorate, and the indications are that great extensions of popular power will ere long be granted.

The second plank is a declaration in favor of No Property Qualification for the Representatives of the People, and this principle has been adopted in all other parliamentary elections than in those to the Senate, where a comparatively small amount is yet necessary as a monetary qualification.

The third plank asked for Extension of the Elective Franchise to all Householders and Housekeepers, and we have seen it including nearly every resident in a community,* although this was not obtained without a struggle.

The fourth plank regarded the Ballot as necessary, and, after some waiting, it has been profusely granted to parliamentary, municipal, school and other elections, and in voting on by-laws.

The fifth proposition favored biennial and fixed parliamentary elections. The first has been thought to be unnecessary, as we have the quadrennial system, and the fixed date is looked upon as incompatible with responsible government.

The sixth plank is in favor of no expenditure of public money without consent of Parliament. This is insured in our whole financial system, Dominion, provincial and municipal, not only practically but very efficiently.

The seventh plank asks for retrenchment through all departments of state, and would have been more in consonance with the desires of the taxpayer had the word economy replaced its substitute.

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The eighth plank was one of the most important of the series, for it declared for that reform in the representation by population which had so long been, and properly, the battle-cry of the Reform party, and has been silenced by the action of the country at the time of Confederation.

The ninth plank set forth the declaration that no pension should be attached to any office, but that, if given in individual cases, it must be as Parliament should direct. The pensioning system, while now treated as a prerogative, is not exercised without consent of the legislators in the province interested.

The tenth plank is not yet fully recognized as part of our governing machinery, although strenuously advocated by Canada's leading statesmen. The right of Canada to deal independently with foreign countries, although not nominally acknowledged, has been tacitly admitted by Imperial authorities, and the cession of the treaty-making power is no longer a disputed plank.

The eleventh and last of the planks is a bold but clear and unmistakable declaration of extended colonial power, and sets forth the rights of our law-making body—now necessarily of the Dominion—to have power to alter or repeal any act or charter, Imperial or otherwise, affecting ourselves, and which the Imperial Parliament itself might alter or repeal. While this power has not been ceded to the Canadian people, the difficulty has been foreseen, and has been met by Section 94 of the British North America Act, with its broad provision that uniformity of legislation shall be secured by the provision that it shall not have effect in any province unless and until it is adopted and enacted as law by the legislature thereof.

Mr. Macdougall thought some of the things proposed

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afar off, and believed that nothing but energetic and long-continued agitation would bring them about. That he felt anxious to commence and continue the movements in their favor was evident, and had he received the commercial support absolutely necessary to the success of his journal, he would have been able to occupy a still higher position as a valuable agent for the furtherance of many liberal and radical reforms than that which he reached.

But there were subjects which he looked upon as fit for immediate consideration, and of these he published a list, entitled "Subjects for Immediate Legislation Advocated by the *North American*."

In his proposed law reforms he advocated the abolition of the Court of Chancery, and establishment of Equity in the courts of the province, as had been done in the United States for more than half a century. He went so far in his desire for a brushing away of the cobwebs of Legality.

The sale of the public lands, for cash, at a low price; the settlement of the Clergy Reserves and Rectory questions; repeal of all laws granting moneys or conferring special privileges on religious bodies; free navigation of the St. Lawrence; modification of the Usury Laws; improvement of agriculture by a judicious application of government grants; decimal currency; extensive amendment of the School Law, and several other matters of equal importance were set down as requiring early consideration and to be disposed of without delay.

The following is a copy of this well-remembered platform, as published in the *North American*, and when we bear in mind how many of the reforms indicated are now embodied in our statute books, we may form some idea

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of the necessity then existent for a party as aggressive and persistent as the Clear Grits proved to be.

It is nothing more than an act of justice to place this platform once more on record as the best monument which can be erected to the memory of William Macdougall.

The North American.

TORONTO, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1851.

OUR PLATFORM.

- I. ELECTIVE INSTITUTIONS FROM THE HIGHEST OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE LOWEST. These we class as follows :
 1. THE ELECTION OF OUR GOVERNOR.
 2. AN ELECTIVE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.
 3. ELECTION OF ALL LOCAL OFFICERS—
By the County and Town Councils.
- II. NO PROPERTY QUALIFICATION FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE.
- III. EXTENSION OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE—to all Householders and Housekeepers.
- IV. VOTE BY BALLOT.
- V. BIENNIAL AND FIXED PARLIAMENTS.
- VI. NO EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC MONEY WITHOUT CONSENT OF PARLIAMENT.
- VII. RETRENCHMENT THROUGH ALL THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE.
- VIII. REFORM IN THE REPRESENTATION BASED ON POPULATION.
- IX. NO PENSION ATTACHED TO ANY OFFICE. Let pensions be given in individual cases, when and as Parliament may think proper.
- X. OUR COMMERCE AND INTERCOURSE WITH OTHER NATIONS PLACED ENTIRELY IN OUR OWN POWER,—leaving in the power of England nothing but the question of Peace and War, and that under certain restrictions.
- XI. Our Legislature to have power to alter or repeal any Act or Charter, Imperial or otherwise, affecting ourselves only, and which the Imperial Parliament itself might alter or repeal.

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Subjects for Immediate Legislation, advocated by the "North American."

1. Law Reform.
Court of Chancery Abolished, and Equity Jurisdiction given to the Courts of Law, as is done in fifteen states of the American Union, where it has been found for 50 years to give entire satisfaction.
Simplification of Law Proceedings.
Abolition of the present Monopoly of the Legal Profession.
2. Clergy Reserves for Education.
3. Abolition of the Rectories.
4. Immediate Repeal of all Laws granting monies to, or conferring special privileges upon Religious Bodies.
5. Speedy sale of the Public Lands—Cheap and for Cash.
6. Free Navigation of the St. Lawrence—to all Nations.
7. Modification of the Usury Laws.
8. Abolition of Primogeniture.
9. Improvement of Agriculture by a judicious application of Public Grants.
10. Completion of such improvements in the Public Works as are necessary to secure a maximum revenue, with a view to the—
11. Abolition of Customs Houses and Duties on Imports.
12. Amendment of the School Law.
13. Establishment of a Uniform Decimal Currency.

I see frequent reference in the various journals published in Ontario to the common belief that the term "Clear Grit" was first sarcastically applied to Malcolm Cameron and his supporters, David Christie, Caleb Hopkins, Dr. Rolph, James Leslie and other ultra Reformers who broke the bonds and scrambled over the boundaries of the legitimate Reform party.

In Alexander Mackenzie's "Life of George Brown," the author says: "Mr. Cameron and Caleb Hopkins were among the earliest to manifest discontent with the do-nothing policy of Mr. Baldwin, at a time when Mr. Brown and the *Globe* were freely supporting the Government. These two gentlemen were attacked with great vigor by the *Globe*, and sarcastically dubbed the 'Clear

MACDOUGALL AND "CLEAR GRIT" PLATFORM

Grit' party, a term which has since found a permanent place in our political nomenclature, embracing in its more extensive application the originator of the appellation."

In Dent's "Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion," he says that the feeling of dissatisfaction with Baldwin's lethargy was freely expressed by Peter Perry, of Whitby, James Leslie, proprietor of the Toronto *Examiner*, and William Macdougall. These gentlemen, with others, were chiefly instrumental in forming a new political wing which came to be known as the Clear Grit party. . . . Their platform included many reforms which have long since been accomplished."

Collins, in his "Life of John A. Macdonald," says, page 138: "The term given to the new party was the Clear Grits, a term which first appeared in the *Globe*. The appellation appears to have originated during a conversation between George Brown and David Christie, the latter remarking that they wanted in the new movement men who were *clear grit*."

McMullen, in his "History of Canada," speaking of the split amongst Upper Canada Reformers, says: "This state of things specially produced a split among Reformers; and a new party arose into influence which had already been denominated, in American party phraseology, 'Clear Grits,' who declared themselves to be the unadulterated political commodity."

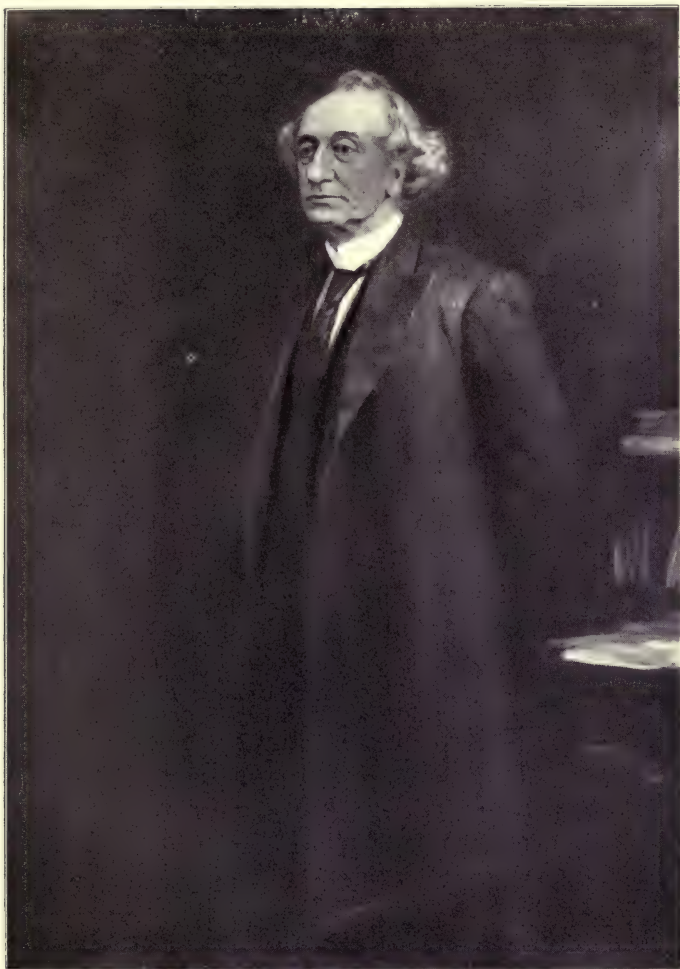
My recollection of the use of the title is that it first appeared in a Whitby newspaper, in a letter written by Peter Perry. Peter was a merchant and miller, and knew the meaning of the term to be, as Jamieson defines it under "clear" and "grit"—"rock, hard, cold Scotch granite." A pretty good description of Malcolm C. Cameron.

CHAPTER VIII.

A CONTRAST AND A PARALLEL.

George Brown and John A. Macdonald, heads of great parties—Equal power to originate—Much in common—Calvin and Wesley—Both in turn successful—Personal appearance—Brown a Parliamentarian—Macdonald a Cavalier—Each great in use of his own peculiar virility—Confederation—Sir John's speech : George Brown's Confederation planks—Their monuments.

No figures in Canadian history have more firmly impressed themselves upon their contemporaries than those of George Brown and John A. Macdonald. What the first editor of the *Globe* was to the Upper Province, "John A." was to the Canadas. Both stood at the head of great parties, both possessed the power to originate and control, and both had many followers guided by the fealty of clansmen and the obstinacy of partisans. There was much in common between them, while a wide divergence existed on cardinal points of greater importance. Both men, like a Calvin or a Wesley, had their ardent followers and admirers. Brown was, naturally, a Limited Monarchy man; Macdonald was a life-long advocate of Absolutism, if that were essential to his personal or party success. Both were loyal to the Crown, and sincerely anxious to preserve, perpetuate and extend the limits of British connection. Both were fluent, eloquent and argumentative, although the declamatory powers of Brown were more convincing in the hall than



RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD,
First Premier of the Dominion of Canada.

From an Oil Painting by

J. W. L. Forster, R.C.A., Toronto.

A CONTRAST AND A PARALLEL

in the forum, and the lawyer-like reasoning of Macdonald appealed more effectively to the casuist than to the average everyday man. And yet both in turn were successful leaders and controlled the Canadian public opinion of their day.

Upon one point they were ever in unison. They saw, at a distance, but rapidly approaching, the galaxy of provinces now shining over the broad North-West, and had full confidence in the still greater brilliance and potentiality of a grand Canadian constellation. They labored with equal ardor to develop that new world which they had done so much to create. They might differ as to the means necessary to this work, but were agreed as to the character of the end each had in view. They constantly rose higher in the approval of their fellow-subjects, and their deaths did nothing to lessen their claim upon their gratitude. None but the most rigid partisan will deny the fullest possible admiration of their wide conceptions, their unflinching determination to carry them into effect, and the sacrifice of cherished beliefs to which they cheerfully, if reluctantly, consented.

The personal appearance of George Brown made him easily recognizable on the street or platform. Six feet three or four in height, of sanguine temperament, quick in his movements, impulsive in utterance, vigorous in action in all that he did, he was a man of mark. Almost as noticeable in a group of men was Sir John A. Macdonald. Spare in form and slightly stooping, he carried a head which indicated force and culture, a consciousness of power, and, in his serious moments, a mastery of situation which compelled the observer to acknowledge the presence of a dominant mind. In the profiles of both men were seen the strong nasal outline, the firm chin, and the broad and lofty brow which tell their own story.

SIXTY YEARS IN UPPER CANADA

George Brown had little of what the world terms humor; John A. Macdonald bubbled over in his manifestations of it. A good joke had little significance for Brown, while Macdonald fairly revelled in the utterances from his own or other lips if the good story were well told. Brown was a fair though scarcely patient listener to any man who had a grievance or a new idea; Macdonald was such a consummate actor, with a strong desire to please, that he was able at all times and opportunities to assume the rôle of the intensely interested recipient. Conciliatory in all his moods, when not actually on the defensive, he gave an apparently eager welcome to the mental products of other men, and made many life-long friends from the briefest interviews.

Brown, in Cromwellian days, would have been a Parliamentarian, while Macdonald could never have been other than a dashing Cavalier. Brown looked upon the world as at all times a serious reality; Macdonald viewed it as affording material for amusement when the philosophic spectator called attention to some of its phases and odd peculiarities. Each man was great in the use and expression of his own peculiar strength, and Canada was a loser in the death of both before the full fruition of their hopes and confident expectations.

On the 6th of February, 1865, Sir John moved the Address to Her Majesty which formally introduced the question of Confederation. He said in the peroration of his speech:

“In this younger country one great advantage of our connection with Great Britain will be that, under her auspices, inspired by her example, a portion of her Empire, our public men will be actuated by the statesmen at home. These, although not material, physical benefits of which you can make an arithmetical calculation, are of such overwhelming advantage to our future interests

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and standing as a nation that to obtain them is well worthy of any sacrifices we may be called upon to make, and the people of this country are ready to make them. . . . Here we are, in peace and prosperity, under the fostering care of Great Britain—a dependent people, with a government having only a limited and delegated authority, and yet allowed, without restriction and without jealousy on the part of the mother country, to legislate for ourselves, and peacefully and deliberately to consider and determine the future of Canada and of British North America. . . . It was only by a happy concurrence of circumstances that we were enabled to bring this great question to its present position. If we do not take advantage of the time, if we show ourselves unequal to the occasion, it may never return, and we shall hereafter bitterly and unavailingly regret having failed to embrace the happy opportunity now offered of founding a great nation under the fostering care of Great Britain and our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria.”

On the 8th of February, 1865, George Brown, speaking in the House of Commons at Ottawa, on the Confederation resolutions, in the course of his address made a clear declaration of his “platform,” and the reasons for his support of its various “planks.” They are of such character that they read to-day as a prophecy fulfilled, and they may properly be placed on record in any review, however brief, of his political belief.

Said he, at various points:

“Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the union of the British American Colonies, first, because it will raise us from the attitude of a number of inconsiderable colonies into a great and powerful people.

“But, secondly, I go heartily for the union because it will throw down the barriers of trade and give us the control of a market of four millions of people.

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“Thirdly, Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of a union of the provinces because it will make us the third maritime state in the world.

“In the fourth place, Mr. Speaker, I go for a union of the provinces because it will give a new start to immigration into our country.

“Fifthly, Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of a union because it will enable us to meet without alarm the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, in case the States should insist on its abolition.

“Sixthly, Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the union of the provinces because, in the event of war, it will enable all colonies to defend themselves, and give more efficient aid to the Empire than they could do separately.”

The careers of the two statesmen—for that term, much as it signifies, may be fairly applied to them—were widely different until they affiliated towards their close.

George Brown was earnest in all that he did. He used the tongs and sledge-hammer of the political Vulcan in bringing the cohesive but malleable mass of public opinion into desired shape.

Sir John cared more for the victory of *finesse* with which he brought his desired end about than for an exhibition of robust style and manner. George Brown appealed to the judgment, the feelings and the clannishness of his hearers. John A. played upon their imperfect knowledge, their prejudices, their often mistaken enthusiasm, and their loyalty. Both men alike trusted in the warm patriotism of their supporters because both themselves possessed it in an extraordinary degree. “Calais” may have been written upon the heart of Mary, but that “Canada” was imprinted upon those of our two statesmen does not permit a moment’s doubt.

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Despite the outcome of human frailties and politicians' blunders, every intelligent Canadian may proudly boast of two leaders, distinguished by consummate ability, who have left their marks upon the historic page of a young and vigorous nation.

George Brown's monument will be found in the columns of the *Globe* newspaper. Throw aside its expressions of ordinary political views, and its labors in behalf of the commercial interests of the city in which it has been published, and there remains the journal, with definite aims, which has steadily and wisely guided public opinion and exhibited a thoroughness indicative of the strongest point in the character of its founder.

Sir John A. Macdonald would, if he could be consulted, proudly point to the iron way which has connected ocean with ocean and will long continue to be associated with his name and labors.

One of my first remembrances of George Brown is his delivery of a lecture illustrative of the doings and discoveries of the Kingston Penitentiary Commission, of which he had acted as secretary, and which had succeeded in unearthing abuses on the part of the officials, which, if they did not imply dishonesty, certainly indicated wretchedly loose management. Mr. Brown, requested by numerous friends in Hamilton, laid before them in manuscript form the results of an inquiry which left the impression of scandalous misdoings. The hall was fairly filled, and the audience, largely composed of leading citizens of Mr. Brown's nationality, was in full sympathy with the lecturer. His appearance was that of a tall young fellow, blushing at unaccustomed surroundings, and evidently new to the art of public speaking. When, at certain points of his discourse, he attempted to dispense with his written aid, he left a sorry

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impression on those who came to hear and sympathize with the rising public man, who was already regarded as one of the most prominent of a party then in the ascendancy. There was little promise of the man destined before long to magnetize Canadian crowds, but there was, in his written remarks, at least, the intense earnestness which distinguished his after public utterances, when the editor of the *Globe* had become a favorite speaker at the numerous public meetings which he addressed in later years.

The labors of the Commission, as set forth by him, had struck deeply one of the supporters of Sir John, who was always a partisan, and led at a later period to a reprisal, in the shape of deep invective of Brown by Macdonald, which, for once, overshot its mark.

Hon. George Brown was born at Edinburgh on the 29th of November, 1813, and died at Toronto on the 9th of May, 1880, the victim of a wound inflicted by one of his employees, who was doubtless insane. This man, named Bennet, had been discharged by a foreman in one of the *Globe* departments, and had come to Mr. Brown's office to ask for a "recommendation." The man's attitude was offensive, and he certainly drew his weapon, but it is probable he did not intend to kill Mr. Brown, who was shot while grappling with the intruder. The thought comes to one that, under similar circumstances, Sir John would have managed not to be shot.

Sir John Alexander Macdonald was born at Glasgow, on the 11th of January, 1815, and died at Ottawa on the 6th of June, 1891.

Ten years more of life vouchsafed to each of these men would have left a strong impression upon a nation in its birth-throes at the time of their disappearance from the political stage.

CHAPTER IX.

MALCOLM C. CAMERON.

No picture of '40's and '50's without reference to "Malcolm Cameron"—A true Canadian and a Radical—A worker without his coat—Had many offices—Could give and take—A son of nature—His appearance—Loved a fight—A consistent supporter of temperance, and yet caught in a bar-room—"The Coon"—Halton election—Poor Wetenhall's defeat—Looking for an honest man.

THE dozen years which elapsed from the date of the Mackenzie Rebellion to that of the legislation introduced by Hon. R. Baldwin, after a brief stagnation of political life, brought many ideas to the front, and some men filled with a desire for radical reforms. The "rebels," as many of the agitators of that day were termed, nothing daunted by the failure of their then recent ill-advised resort to arms, commenced an agitation for the adoption of needed changes already measurably within reach. Probably the most notable of these Radicals was Malcolm C. Cameron, and no picture of Upper Canada in the forties and fifties would be complete without direct reference to his personality and his acts.

This hard worker—and a worker without his coat, be it borne in mind—was the son of Angus Cameron, hospital sergeant of a regiment doing duty in Canada. He was born on the 25th of April, 1808, and lived to fill the position of Commissioner of Public Works, Minister

of, Agriculture, President of the Executive Council and Postmaster-General of Old Canada. He was an admirable executant, unafraid of obstacles, who laughingly received stiff blows and never refrained from returning them, with compound interest, when he regarded such action necessary. He had natural rather than acquired oratorical prowess, and had a fine physique and a magnificent voice, which assured him a good reception in any company where its hearty tones were heard. He was truly a man of the people—one of those sons of Nature who feel at home everywhere, and whose popularity is dependent more upon personality and individuality than any other cause. His voice told well with an audience, but his warm hand-shake, his manly approach, his bluff manner, as sincere evidently as it seemed, counted more. While he respected the *convenances* of society, he was not afraid of them, and it would be safe to assert that he did not lose a wink of sleep because of the opinion of Mrs. Grundy, and he would not have laughed at the unintentionals of Mrs. Malaprop. His appearance was as marked as his manner. Of good height—probably five feet ten—having a portly presence, a healthy color, black hair, and eyes like sloes, but as bright and piercing as those of a hawk, he was what his female friends would term a handsome man. As a politician he was one of those who enjoy the good jokes, the funny turns, the hard work, the amusing *rencontres*, and the infinite variety of an election contest. His party allegiance was unquestionable, but he possessed a feeling of duty to himself as well as to his associates. His fealty was reliable if he felt sure of the action and good faith of those with whom he was connected. If not, he fought for his own hand.

MALCOLM C. CAMERON

In one matter he was consistent from birth to death. He was a faithful, temperate, ever-active advocate of temperance, and was known from Lambton to Quebec, and further, as a rigid and consistent abstainer from the use of intoxicating liquors. For his subscription, speech or vote the temperance men of the country could rely upon him.

As an illustration of his ability to make himself at home, and equal to all emergencies, it may be told how, travelling on a political mission with Premier Robert Baldwin, he suddenly disappeared. His chief was anxious to find him, and personally sought him. Looking high and low, he peeped at last into the bar-room, just then otherwise tenantless, and heard a grampus-like blowing, and looking curiously around behind the door found his Commissioner having a thorough wash, and declaring it to be one of the best he ever had as he resumed his upper garments. The shock experienced by Mr. Baldwin is not difficult to imagine.

The Commissioner was spoken of as "The Coon" everywhere. At a dinner given to him in Toronto, Dr. Joseph Workman, acting as chairman, introduced him as not only "The Coon," but as "the same old Coon he had ever been," and this compliment was declared by Mr. Cameron to have been the greatest he had ever received.

In speaking at a hustings meeting he may have been exaggerative, for he was never afraid of new ideas but readily grasped them, and it may be that he was more often afoot in search of them than was consistent with the characteristics of the leader of a party. He was somewhat vindictive, too, but as readily forgave as he took offence. No man with an opinion worth having

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ever doubted his honest intentions. As a stump speaker he was probably, in his day, the equal, at least, of Archibald McKellar, for both held strong conviction, ready wit, a mine of good-natured opinions of friend and foe, and the faculty of using, when necessary, pure Anglo-Saxon dashed with a tinge of Highland accent.

The most regrettable of the few dubious things he did was his pursuit of poor John Wetenhall, of Halton, who, appointed Commissioner of Public Works by the Hincks administration, was attacked relentlessly by Malcolm Cameron, and was not only financially ruined, but lost his reason. I reported Wetenhall's speech at his nomination in long hand, and spent the night at an hotel in Dundas listening to the then maundering dictation of his oratorical points. A few days after that miserable night came the poll, and the result was dire. The roads were bad, the Scots vote in Dumfries was alienated or made indifferent by Malcolm Cameron's stump speeches; and with the contributory efforts of Rev. Mr. Jennings, a Presbyterian minister in Toronto, who had heard Wetenhall swear at one of his meetings and found him unwilling to apologize therefor, the unexpected end of the campaign came in the thorough defeat of the Ministerial candidate and the triumphant return of Caleb Hopkins.

On the morning following the election, a knock at my office door preceded the entrance of a gaunt figure carrying a lantern in one hand and a big stake for a staff, who was oddly dressed in unusual garments, and asked me to find for him an honest man. I thought, at the first glance, that this was the whim or jest of a cynic, but speedily discovered that my visitor was the sad wreck of an amiable and disappointed man. Poor Wetenhall

MALCOLM C. CAMERON

was sent to the Toronto Asylum for the Insane, and died there from erysipelas following wounds received at the hands of a brother unfortunate. More talented men and keener politicians there may have been in the Reform ranks of Upper Canada, but a more honest and trustworthy man than he never sought the suffrages of the people.

CHAPTER X.

D'ARCY M'GEE.

Poet, politician and patriot—Fought to win, not to annihilate—Struggle with poverty—Fluctuating in party allegiance—Dr. Parker, M.P. for North Wellington—His non-committalism—McGee's support from literature at last assured—A new phase of life before him, speedily followed by death—Sir John on McGee—Differences with Parker but temporary—Parker's letter on coalitions and Nova Scotia's grievance—The failure of his attempted Confederation speech.

THERE were few men who possessed a larger share of pre-eminently intellectual strength than did D'Arcy McGee, whose brilliant career was unique. His sudden elevation, largely due, it may be, to circumstances, was remarkable and rare. An enthusiast, with the temperament of a poet and the burning words of an orator of cultivated skill, he became associated in early life with the young and patriotic band who espoused the cause of Irish freedom with vehemence and a hopefulness, born largely of inexperience and doomed to end in failure, it may be, but which, nevertheless, pointed the way to a life-work for many whose names have become historic.

That McGee should scout the more sober teachings of the wiser head of O'Connell was not surprising; that he did not permanently stand up in opposition is proof of a sagacity illustrating, once more, that cool thought and soft words are more prolific of useful measures than



HON. T. D'ARCY McGEE,
Leader of the Irish Liberals in the Dominion Parliament.

D'ARCY MCGEE

the hot-headed and impulsive charge which destroys itself when it delivers a death-wound to a strong antagonist. He came to know that the *suaviter in modo* is generally preferable to the *fortiter in re* in political as in other careers.

D'Arcy McGee possessed ability and integrity which could not fail to make him prominent in any party to which he might become attached, or to render him an object of fear and solicitude to his opponents. He was a partisan, but not of unforgiving and relentless character. He was a combative politician, but his party instincts frequently gave place to a love of fair play. He fought to win, but not to annihilate. The father of a family, and of small means, his financial resources were necessarily limited, and the worry of poverty interfered seriously with his literary and political labors, but no proof was ever presented which tended to question his character for incorruptibility. He may have been open to the charge of fickleness, but he never sacrificed a friend with intent to further his own interests. He fluctuated in his party allegiance, but never, as he undoubtedly believed, without reasonable cause. He was a sincere and firm adherent of the faith of his childhood, and yet was tolerant of the belief of differing friends and opponents alike. He had a frame strong in animal vigor, and a brain which compensated for rugged and unattractive features. His one facial beauty was a winning smile, and if he was not an Adonis, he was at least a Man.

My last meeting with McGee was on the Friday preceding his death, when, in the company of Dr. John Howitt, of Guelph, we spent more than two hours in discussing his personal affairs and the political character of Confederation. He declared that he was tired of a

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debate which had become the mere echo of the leading men of two parties now professedly one, and which had a foregone conclusion ahead of it. Was there ever, I wonder, a prolonged debate of which this might not have been said? I submit the question to all back-benchers. He complained that some leaders of public opinion had openly shirked discussion, or had so expressed themselves as to leave a door for escape from consequences if, in some unexpected manner, the result of changed conditions was contrary to all expectations. He instanced, especially, his disappointment at the attitude of Dr. Parker, member for North Wellington, and said that he intended, if opportunity presented itself, on the following Monday, to give strong expression to his disapproval of this non-committalism on the part of one who hoped to become a leader of public opinion at an early date, and under the very Confederation which he would neither condemn nor approve. McGee said he was at last able to find a prospect of that support from literature which he had not succeeded in obtaining from politics, and that he had just concluded an arrangement with some American publishers, notably the Harpers, which presented a promise of permanency. He spoke of this with animation, declaring that he had trodden underfoot certain things that had hindered him in the past, and had entered on a new phase of his life which would bring increased happiness to himself and his family. In short, he had found himself. Returning from Montreal, the following Tuesday morning, I was shocked when the porter of the sleeping-car whisperingly informed me that, after leaving the Commons at the adjournment of the House about midnight on Monday, April 7th, 1868, D'Arcy McGee had been shot while opening the door of his lodging-house.

In Pope's "Biography of Sir John Macdonald"

appears a confirmation of the subject-matter of the last interview I had with McGee.

"Sir John Macdonald was deeply affected by Mr. McGee's death. The following extracts from letters written by him shortly after the tragical occurrence show at once his regard for the dead and his solicitude for the living.

" 'You will have been shocked by the news of his assassination. Poor McGee! His only crime was that he steadily and affectionately advised his countrymen in Canada to enjoy all the advantages that our equal laws and institutions give to Irishmen and to Roman Catholics. He sternly set his face against the introduction of Fenianism into Canada, and he was, therefore, a doomed man. There is great grief for his loss, and great sympathy with his family. . . .

" 'You will have observed that Parker brought up the question of your appointment again, for the patriotic purpose of keeping alive the irritation in Nova Scotia. He was, however, compelled to withdraw his motion. It was on this occasion that poor McGee made his last speech; and a beautiful speech it was! In it he spoke of your merits, and gave Parker a most deserved castigation. Within an hour afterwards he was a corpse.' "

In justice to Dr. Parker, to whom McGee, although once his friend, had become personally and politically objectionable, so that between them a feeling of hostility had arisen, it is well to show that Parker's opposition to the murdered man was really of a trivial character, which would have speedily disappeared, and that it was one of those *contretemps* in public life which often occur and are generally of a transient sort. The difference arose from the fact that McGee was a supporter of Coalition, which Parker condemned, and that each dealt

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somewhat harshly with the other. Knowing the existence of the difference of opinion, I wrote to Dr. Parker regretting the position, and received from him two lengthy letters, from which I make brief extracts. Writing to me on the 25th of November, 1867, he took the attitude, popular and defensible, that he agreed with the Nova Scotian contention that the people of the various provinces ought to have had the question of Confederation submitted to them, either by referendum or general election, and wrote to me in reply to some observations which I had addressed to him during the progress of the Confederation debate, and said: "I read with much interest your letter, and read it to, and discussed it with, Holton. We both agree that there is much worthy of consideration in your remarks. But I am in difficulties as to the adoption of your views. In a hasty note I can only refer in outline to my objections. I dissent entirely from the doctrine that a nation is born. It appears to me to be true in neither theory nor in fact. The Confederacy may become a nation, but long and much labor and travail must first be endured. You condemn recrimination over the past. But if there are to be no retrospective discussions or condemnations, there is small means left for checking misgovernment. We have, or profess to have, parliamentary government on the well-understood principles of the British Constitution! This involves parliamentary criticism, extending to all acts, large and small, past and present, of the administration. It involves the conflict of parties everywhere. For 225 years or more, two great parties have contended, and are still contending, in England for the government. Cast your eye back over that period, and you see changes vastly greater in the Constitution of Great Britain than now effected in Canada. Yet it was never proposed that

parties should fuse and end their conflict till new questions or issues should redivide them. And they have coalesced but twice in that period—once when military despotism threatened the old laws and liberties, and once when endangered by the encroachments of the Crown. But, these dangers passed, Conservatives and Whigs resumed their old hostile attitude. Hence I infer that we are justified in drawing old lines—that old questions exist, and in our little conflicts here, so far, we have not exceeded the general practice in England. You say that we have no policy. It appears to me that we require none. John A. Macdonald never initiated a policy, but, step by step, has taken advantage of the labors and policy of the Reformers in the past. When they educated the country to demand a measure he acceded to it, and has repeatedly gathered fruit from Reform labors. We have in the past stood upon a policy and a platform, and yet were steadily and constantly baffled and defeated. Our policy was generally sound and judicious, yet we lost, and I do not think we should better succeed by the same means in the future. We have been beaten by strategy and tact, not by superior statesmanship. I think that you are inaccurate in the statement that we had no policy in the past. We had Representation by Population, Retrenchment, etc., etc., etc. Now you seem to me to depreciate the importance of the Nova Scotia embroglio. The people are thoroughly against Confederation; they are the source of all power, and should never be legislated into the union without their consent. There is the difficulty, and, depend upon it, we shall suffer for it in the future. It will crop up constantly.”

On the 18th of November, 1867, Parker had written to me stating how the session was passing without work done or to do, and that it was thought better to avoid

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a division of the House until some obnoxious question presented itself. Again he referred to the position of Nova Scotia, and said: "The position of Nova Scotians prevents any close alliance in our party, still I think they may be regarded as members of the Opposition." He makes an allusion to the fact that he had failed in an attempt to speak, and said: "I rose to speak on the Address, far from well, intending to review the conduct and tactics of ministers during the elections, interference with the Local Governments, and give Macdougall and Howland a roasting, but finding myself unable to do either myself or subject justice, made an excuse, and sat down. The incident was unpleasant, but the same has occurred to others. I will take some other opportunity to pay my respects to our Reform deserters."

Mr. D'Arcy McGee's opposition to Dr. Parker evidently arose from the expressed conviction that a coalition could not be established and maintained without a loss of party advantages, a sacrifice of principle, and a further increase of the labors involved in bringing a great issue to a crucial point. Confederation practically gave a continued coalition, a loss of legislative power, and a perpetuation of some, if not of all the evils existent in the days preceding non-party organization. McGee undoubtedly looked upon the attack made by Parker as an assault upon his own personal position, resented it, and viewed with anger the attitude of one who had been one of his warmest personal friends.

It may be added that McGee was born in Ireland, April 13th, 1825, and met his sad death in Ottawa, April 7th, 1868.

CHAPTER XI.

MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS AND MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS.

Slow growth—United Empire Loyalists—Land grants—Military settlements—Magisterial rule—District councillors—The Jailer, a liquor dealer—District wardens, Government nominees—Baldwin the municipal reformer—The Great Seal upon everything—Centralization and red tape—Amendments a necessity unfairly termed “tinkering”—Municipal councils the guarantees of the people’s freedom—Municipal indebtedness—Crash of 1857 succeeding period of inflation—Reckless use of Government loans—Municipal bankruptcy threatened—Situation called for action—Mr. Mowat to the relief—Municipal loan fund scheme—Municipalities without debts given an equitable share—Wise and satisfactory solution.

THE municipal institutions of Upper and Lower Canada developed slowly in passing from a system of French origin to what was in fact a strengthened form of American simplicity. The two systems commingled, but while the French element remained almost unchanged for many years, that of British origin had emerged from its semi-Gallic condition. What may be termed a British-American system acquired strength which grew with time and experience, and when, in 1792, Upper Canada was given a separate and distinct autonomy, it had started fairly on the road to future nationality. Although for many years no broad thought of co-opera-

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tive action existed, its germs were there, and they grew more rapidly under the new régime.

The first effort of the newly established province was to effect some common action in the construction of roads, and this could be effectually done only where the settlement contained a considerable number of interested residents. The first greater impulse to municipal control of the means of communication came with the United Empire Loyalists, who flocked into Upper Canada after the close of the Revolutionary War, for they were actual settlers, whose first object was the formation of new homes in what, at that time, was a wilderness. The leading idea of the military commander and governor was the strengthening of his defences by the introduction into the province of soldier settlers, and, to effect this, large land grants were made to such as would accept them on the conditions imposed. Many of the soldiers of the disbanded 84th Regiment took up lands at the same period, and allotments were made to officers and rank and file in the following proportions: To a field officer were given 5,000 acres; a captain, 3,000; a subaltern, 2,000; and a private, 200 acres. The great bulk of the recipients of the grants settled upon the banks of the St Lawrence and on the shores of the Bay of Quinte. This country was divided into townships and subdivided into concessions and lots. In the summer of 1784, the persons to whom lands had been assigned took possession of them, thus at once settling a territory of a hundred and fifty miles in extent. During that year the Loyalists, comprising Butler's Rangers, who had acted on the Niagara frontier and in Pennsylvania, and those attached to the Indian Department, had lands assigned to them near Niagara, on the west bank of the river and south side of Lake Ontario, and in the Detroit country, on

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the east side of the strait. It may be here remarked that until recently, and, indeed, until this day in the old district of Niagara, the descendants of the Pennsylvanians hold the memory of Butler's Rangers in deepest detestation, and ascribe to them all the crimes in the calendar. They regarded them with a horror similar to that evinced by the Covenanters towards Butcher Cumberland of infamous memory.

The Government supplied incoming settlers with provisions for two years, farm implements and some clothing, and as a result many began to clear up their locations, and homes were formed in a section of country accessible by water and fairly fertile. But the scattered settlements grew slowly, the scanty population in many of them dwelling far apart. In the whole of the country named it did not for some years exceed ten thousand, and in no section was it compact. Roads of any description, so long as they gave winter ingress and access to the settler, who on the waterways had a ready summer entrance and exit, had to be accepted as the best possible at that period of Upper Canadian history.

In 1788 Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, divided Upper Canada into four districts, namely, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse, but such names had little meaning for the people, and there was small wonder that they were afterwards abolished. On July 16th, 1792, Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, by authority of the new Imperial Constitutional Act, divided the province of Upper Canada into nineteen counties, which were named Glengarry, Stormont, Dundas, Grenville, Leeds, Frontenac, Ontario, Addington, Lennox, Prince Edward, Hastings, Northumberland, Durham, York, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Kent, and for the purposes of representation in the Parliament about to be called,

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these were arranged into constituencies, of which the following summary gives a recapitulation: For Glengarry, 2; Stormont, Dundas and Grenville, one each, 3; Leeds and Frontenac, 1; Ontario and Addington, 1; Prince Edward and the district of Adolphustown, 1; the remainder of Lennox, with Hastings and Northumberland, 1; Durham, York and the first riding of Lincoln, 1; second and third riding of Lincoln, one each, 2; fourth riding of Lincoln and Norfolk, 1; Suffolk and Essex, 1; Kent, 2; or a total of 16 members.

The first Parliament of Upper Canada met at Niagara on the 17th of September, 1792, but the whole of the members do not appear to have been present. In this session the names of the four districts already mentioned as created by Lord Dorchester, and into which Upper Canada was divided before the passage of the Constitutional Act, were changed. Lunenburg became the Eastern District; Mecklenburg, the Midland; Nassau, the Home; and Hesse, the Western.

The country was locally governed by Justices in Sessions, little more or less than a magisterial oligarchy. It was enacted in the preceding Legislature that the magistrates in Quarter Sessions assembled should provide for the erection of a jail and court-house in each district. The majority of the magistrates present at a district meeting were directed to select the site and plan for these buildings, and the sheriff was appointed the jailer. The justices at their sessions were to make rules for the management of the jail, and these, when approved by one of the judges of the Superior Court, were to be regarded as binding on jailer and prisoner. There was also an enactment that spirituous liquors should not be used in the jails, and that the jailer should not be licensed to sell, lend, use, give away, or knowingly permit or suffer

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any such liquor to be sold, lent, used, or given away in any such jail, or to be brought into the jail, unless prescribed by a regular physician, the penalty being £20 for every offence. Another Act, passed at the same session, provided that any two magistrates, acting in their division, could issue their warrants, giving eight days' notice in any parish, reputed township, or polling place, of a meeting of its inhabitants, householders, to the constable of such parish, for the purpose of choosing and maintaining the parish or town officers to serve for the next year ensuing, at which meeting the constable was to be the presiding officer. The officers to be chosen were a clerk of the parish or township, who was to make a true and complete list of every male and female inhabitant within its limits and forward return thereof to the justices, and to enter and record all such matters as should relate to the parish, town or township. Two persons were to be selected as assessors, another person to serve as collector of taxes, and not less than two, nor more than six persons, as specified in the warrant, to oversee and perform such things as should be directed by the Act, touching or concerning the highways and roads, and to serve as fence viewers. They were also to choose a poundkeeper and two persons to act as churchwardens, as soon as any church was built for performance of divine service according to the use of the Church of England, with a parson or minister appointed thereto.

Persons infracting the law, and any neglecting or refusing to take office, were subject to a penalty of forty shillings.

A poundkeeper was authorized, as he is to-day, to impound trespassing cattle.

The magistrates in quarter sessions annually appointed a high constable for each district, and constables for each

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township. Amendments were made, from time to time, in after sessions of Parliament, but they were of comparatively minor character.

And such was the needed mechanism of municipal control at a time when rule by magistrates was the fashion, and "justice's justice" was the backwoodsman's only resource.

For serious offences there was, of course, trial by jury, which was established by an enactment of the first session of this Parliament.

In the third session of the Upper Canada Parliament the first effort at licensing public houses was made. A bill was introduced and passed, placing them practically under the control of a bench of magistrates. Every man obtaining a license had first to secure a certificate from the magistrates of the division wherein he resided that he was a proper person to keep an inn or public house, and should produce to the justices, if they required it, a testimonial, under the hands of the parson and church or town wardens, or of four reputable and substantial householders, and inhabitants of the division wherein the inn was intended to be kept, setting forth that such person was of good fame, sober in life and conversation, and that he had taken the oath of allegiance to our Sovereign Lord the King.

Up to 1849 but little change was made in the method of electing members of the District Council. The old fashion of selection at an open meeting, with an informal poll of votes, if necessary, prevailed as it did in the first days after the formation of counties. In rural parts the style of nomination *viva voce* obtained, and very little interest was generally taken in the proceedings of this body. Indeed, the pathmaster was often a more important official than the district councillor. "Roads,

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roads, roads," was the popular cry, and "Keep down the taxes!" the popular sentiment.

Two magistrates constituted what was known as the Court of Requests, and, in matters involving less than £10, did the work of the present Division Court. Abuses were unavoidable, even where not to be expected.

The nomination by the Government of the district wardens was a block to progress, and not seldom made this official not only the nominee of the party in power, and therefore inclined to be subservient, but a mere tool.

An Act which savors of paternalism, but which had the sanction of long custom, was one providing for the amount of toll to be paid to the miller for grinding and bolting grain brought to him to be ground.

There was a current and believed anecdote that when the value of the service was being considered by the Legislature, the proposed toll of one-tenth was scouted by a member owning a mill, who declared that such a toll was too low, and that one of a twelfth was a more fitting recompense! He therefore moved the amendment, which was at once accepted by the Assembly, the majority of whose members were not millers, but farmers with grists to grind.

Acts were passed in this session for the regulation of the militia, the taking of a local census, and for the construction, control and repairs of such highways as were then existent.

The Report of the Municipal Commission says: "Very much was done, in the five sessions of the first Parliament, to complete the organization of the Government and establish a system which could easily expand as the population increased. Most of the Acts passed by subsequent Legislatures were but the complement and outgrowth of those passed at Newark." And it adds, at page

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41: "In the rural districts there seemed, even in 1834, to be no prospect of the introduction of a sound municipal system. The justices in session still managed all local matters pretty much as they pleased."

The Act uniting Upper and Lower Canada was passed in 1841, but was almost grudgingly received in the Upper Province. It was regarded as a drastic remedy for a bad state of things, and far-seeing men had little confidence in its results. The Upper Canadian was afraid of the numerical strength of the Lower Canadian, and dreaded greater disaster as a result of what was considered an ill-conceived attempt to bring about prosperity and improved relations. The expected did not happen, and happily none of the forebodings were justified. Neither province had been satisfied with things as they were, both felt the necessity for municipal reform, and one of the first efforts of the United Canada Parliament was to produce a Municipal Act which should, to some extent, meet the varying ideas of the rural element in both of the old provinces. In 1841 an attempt at improvement was unsuccessfully made in an Act introduced by Mr. Harrison, the Provincial Secretary. According to it, each township was authorized to elect two councillors when the names of inhabitant freeholders and householders on the assessment lists exceeded three hundred. The qualification of a councillor was residence in the township and possession to his own use in fee of lands within the district, or one of the districts next adjoining, of the real value of £300, over and above all charges and encumbrances. The councillors were to hold their seats for three years, one-third of the number going out each year, and no one to hold office for more than three years.

Wardens were elected from time to time by the Governor, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. The

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district council was to meet four times each year, commencing on the first Tuesday in February, May, August and November. Extraordinary meetings might be held, for not more than six days each, under written order from the Governor to the warden of the district. Committees were expressly authorized. Each council submitted three names of fit and proper persons to act as clerk of the council, from whom the Governor selected one to be appointed under the Great Seal. The office of treasurer, vacant at each New Year, was filled by appointment of the Governor. Of two district auditors, one was to be appointed by the Governor and the other by the council. The district surveyor was named by the warden and approved by the Governor.

The revenue of the district council was limited to such amount as the justices in quarter sessions deemed necessary for maintenance of the jail, repairs of roads, etc., and the only money controlled by the town commissioners was that paid in commutation of statute labor, and the sum collected under the Wild Lands Assessment Act for lands in the townships. The proceeds of the tax on wild lands was paid over by the district treasurer to the clerk of each township, on demand, and this amount the commissioners spent on roads and bridges. The Court of Requests, established in 1792, was placed under the control of commissioners appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor instead of remaining under that of any two justices of the peace. Centralization was still the principle, and bands of red tape continued to make ineffective the Municipal Act of 1841.

In 1849 the Legislature, under the advice of Hon. Robert Baldwin, enacted a Municipal Law which at last gave to the people that system of self-government which they now enjoy, and established the principle that local

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control of financial matters of local interest should be vested in the tax-payer. Private Acts, giving what might be termed municipal charters to various municipalities, were repealed in the interests of the general public, and one effective Act was passed which, in its preamble, declared that "it would be of great public benefit and advantage that provision should be made, by one general law, for the erection of municipal corporations and their establishment and regulation in and for the several counties, cities, towns, townships and villages of Upper Canada."

That Act, with slight amendments made from time to time, is, in its main features, the one great statute of interest to every citizen, and its operation has not only insured the liberty and rights of every individual, but has given to us a system far excelling that adopted in many States of the American Union. That it should require some amendment annually is not surprising, for every year has seen in our province some change of condition and some extension of territory, some new situation produced by circumstances. That it is sufficiently expansive to cover so much is proof of the wisdom of its authors, and though some over-conservative defenders of the Municipal Law may regard any change as "tinkering," the common sense of our practical law-makers, and of the hundreds of councillors who are familiar with its working, insures careful consideration of every proposed amendment and speedy repeal of any which may have been proved to be worthless.

"Tinkering" does not always lead to the useful, but it does much to rectify wrong, and certainly vindicates the right of the people to be heard wherever they suppose a wrong to exist.

No Act of the Legislature of Ontario has, probably,

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had more amendments to its provisions tacked on to it, or more incongruities removed from it, than has the Liquor License Act. It seems to be the target for every moral reformer, and all conditions of men are prepared to improve it by extension or suppression. No meeting of the Legislature has come and gone without a fight, more or less protracted, over the attempt to abolish this or incorporate that, and no other subject of debate brings a more eagerly interested crowd to the galleries of the Legislature. I am told that if the mere onlooker takes a seat in the gallery at such a time he is pretty certain to have on one side of him a hotel-keeper breathing evidence of the sustaining draught he has recently swallowed, and on the other side a strong-minded lady of temperance proclivities, whose remarks on the proceedings on the floor are sure to be edifying if not exactly instructive. And so the struggle goes on, temperance men arrayed against liquor-dealers. And the end is not yet. Upon one point, however, all men are disposed to agree: that amended law has brought about amended manners, and that amended manners are in turn beneficial to a whole people. The Municipal Act is in similar position, and it is to be hoped that careful "tinkering" in both cases will tend to bring both laws into a nearer and ever nearer approach to a perfection which appears now to be beyond reach.

When acting as associate editor on the *Hamilton Journal and Express*, in 1849, I was given an advance copy of Mr. Baldwin's Municipal Act to condense for publication by the press. The task was not difficult, for the language of the bill was comparatively simple and the various clauses were clearly put—so clearly that to-day, after more than half a century of use, criticism and amendment, the changes are verbal only, while the main

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provisions of the measure remain as they were first enacted. The Act itself was highly and justly prized, for it gave to the people full control of municipal affairs, did away with the restrictions and hindrances existing, and imparted to all classes a thorough knowledge of the machinery of self-government.

The county councils were destined to become parliaments in themselves, and gave to the men who paid for them an opportunity to intelligently effect needed local improvements in the way of roads and bridges, schools and schoolmasters—for a Common School Bill, on the same broad lines, followed the Municipal Act, and, as a result, good roads and better schools opened the way towards the desired goal, better means of communication and education, and, consequently, a more prosperous and intelligent population. The impetus thus given to the efforts of Canadians to better their condition at once showed expected results. The attempt at paternal government in early municipal legislation, in the selection of wardens by the Governor, an absurd restriction upon a free and intelligent people, reached its end. The county council, as I have said, became a local parliament, and men were there educated for the work of law-making in a higher sphere.

A cry was raised in later days against the unnecessary number of these municipal representatives, and a well-intentioned change was made a few years ago which somewhat reduced expenditure, although it threatened to destroy the general usefulness of the central municipal institution. A return to representation by population has been wisely made, and it is improbable that, for a long time to come, any attempt will be made to go back upon the principles so earnestly supported by Robert Baldwin in his Magna Charta of municipal freedom.

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My own municipal experience was a fac-simile of that of thousands of others. I was one of the five councillors elected to represent the village of Elora at its incorporation in 1857, and had previously served as pathmaster or road commissioner, as it was then entitled, and so had some knowledge of municipal affairs. In the following year I became reeve, and served in that capacity for seven years, taking a somewhat active part in promoting the construction of gravel roads throughout the county of Wellington, and in this manner becoming sufficiently well known to be elected to a seat in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, where I represented, first the Centre, and later the East Riding of the county, continuously for more than twenty years. As a trustee for many years of the Public and Grammar or High School Boards, the educational branch of municipal business became familiar to me. I have seen many changes and great general advance in methods of education, but we have not yet reached the day when every Canadian boy or girl of twelve years of age will be able to read intelligently, to write plainly and neatly, to spell correctly, and to exhibit a thorough mastery of the four simple rules of arithmetic. It is coming—it is not far off—and when it reaches us we shall, as a people, live longer and more profitable lives, reach a higher and superior stage of general efficiency, and be better fitted even than now to prepare Canada for the mighty and happy destiny which surely awaits her.

In 1857 there was a great commercial crash in Upper Canada. There had been railway inflation, followed by over-speculation in various directions. Portions of many farms had been converted into village plots, and surveyors and lithographers lived in clover. In some sections the speculation had been productive of wealth;

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villages and even towns had been successfully "laid out," and sold at high prices. The disease—for such it became—had spread rapidly, and in every county there were examples of an attempt, on the part of some individuals or companies, to convert a rural corner into a more valuable real estate. The success of the speculators at one point encouraged the efforts of others elsewhere, and deals in "lots" were a common method of making money on paper. Many men for the first time became acquainted with champagne, and paid dearly for their self-indulgence at some other man's expense. To drink wine and buy hotel and other sites was almost commonplace. But over-speculation meant over-valuation, and fools rushed in where wise men feared to tread. There was a Cobaltic spirit abroad, and what individuals did municipalities soon imitated. All sorts of schemes were set on foot. Some were practicable; some were doubtful; the great bulk were chimerical. And yet men went on and on, piling up future trouble, and going head-over-heels into the dread bog of speculation. They had lost their calculating heads, or worked them too hard. To doubt the wisdom of these blundering schemers was to be unpatriotic, to be undeserving the confidence of your neighbors, and to become a black sheep, even though a woolly one, in a well-shorn flock. Railways had done much to develop legitimately the resources of the country, but they, too, had overfed the lust for wealth. Projectors were rampant, and all sorts of fanciful ideas were given shape on paper, and aided by silver tongues and ready pens, the fun grew fast and furious. Unreason had once more its transient supremacy, and debts which called for future reckoning were contracted by municipalities and individuals.

There is a common belief that every decade, in

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its seventh year, has a financial storm, and 1857 seemed in its experiences to deepen this impression. In the midst of apparent general prosperity, and at the very height of the general excitement, the rumblings of thunder gave warning, the tornado followed, and the card houses of financial optimists were blown into nothingness. Some share of relief was obtainable from municipal aid as direct or indirect help to halting projects, but the general depression was accentuated by it, rather than removed. Inflation, despite ominous political clouds, came once more in 1867. Confederation gave more or less buoyancy to the financial situation, raised great expectations, and temporarily staved off the threatened difficulties. At this period, Mr. Mowat, cautious and far-seeing, succeeded Mr. Blake as Premier of Ontario. Supported by a majority which left his hands free to mould and successfully bring into operation a comprehensive plan of relief, he courageously submitted to the Legislature of Ontario his well-known Municipal Loan Fund proposition, and on the 26th of March, 1873, it passed through committee in the form of the necessary introductory resolutions, and received the warm approval of both sides of the House. The principal feature of these resolutions was the declaration of the expediency of making provision for a rearrangement of the Municipal Loan Fund debts, so as to secure the due and regular payment of such of them as are to be paid, and went on to state that it is further expedient to distribute amongst the municipalities of the province, for local purposes, the future produce of the said debt, and so much of the other funds of the province as may, with the produce of the said debt, be equal to the allowance hereinafter mentioned. The details of the proposal were such that municipalities having no indebtedness to wipe out shared equitably in

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the distribution of public funds, and were enabled to effect expenditures solely for local improvements with the amount allotted to them. A better "all round" measure was never proposed, and to-day the whole province feels the good effects of the liberal legislation adopted by their representatives some thirty-five years ago.

Much as Mr. Mowat, then Attorney-General, did in the way of law reform in his native province, highly as he, in his later years, distinguished himself in his fight for provincial rights, and important as were the many changes which he gradually but thoroughly effected in the numerous statutes which he introduced and amended during his parliamentary career, there was no measure of his which was so productive of general relief of the necessities of every municipality in Ontario as the Municipal Loan Fund Act.

CHAPTER XII.

T H E B A L L O T .

Corruption—Remedy demanded—Not the fault of one party only—A Ballot Bill submitted, 1873—Old campaigners opposed—Instances of outrage—The briber and the bully—"Vote like a man"—Vote for second reading of bill in Ontario Legislative Assembly, 6th February, 1873—Yeas for second reading, 50; nays, 14—Sir John A. on numbered ballot.

FOR many years before Confederation, and after its creation, electoral corruption, gross intimidation, bludgeon arguments and brutal force had been employed at various elections, to the detriment and loss of electoral strength, by one or the other of the opposing candidates. The evil had become so serious and threatening that every honest man felt the necessity for some effective remedy. It was the fashion to denounce one or the other of the great parties as the more blamable, but public inquiry, when made, as it often was, proved that the evils were not confined exclusively to the supporters of the Government or Opposition, that each side was sometimes guilty, and that some radical step was necessary to a wide and thorough suppression of the evil. Penalty after penalty weighed down the pages of our election laws. Candidates were disqualified at election trials. Disfranchisements of constituencies were clamored for when some especially marked instance of electoral turpitude came to light. That something must be done to

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remove a national shame was generally admitted. In Canada, New Brunswick had followed the example set by the majority of the various States of the American Union. In England, the ballot, for parliamentary elections, was brought into force, and there were indications that it would materially mitigate a scandalous evil. A Quebec member of the Dominion Parliament had introduced a bill following, in some of its features, the British Act, but his fellow-members were not prepared to support him in his advocacy of such a revolutionary measure.

Important as was the third session of the second Parliament of the Ontario Legislature, in no particular was it more forward than in its willing recognition of the principle of the ballot. Mr. Mowat was firmly established as Premier, and the pressing reforms which claimed his first attention had been put under way. Nearly every active politician who had experience in Canadian parliamentary elections was aware of the existence of bribery and intimidation. So common was this experience that, although never seeing money actually exchanged for a vote, its use was as well known to me as was the existence, say, of the Queen of England, or the fact that she occupied the throne.

An election trial was then even a more costly luxury than it is to-day, and it was avoided when opportunity for compromise existed or had been created, this being cheaper than another contest under the open vote. All admitted the advantages of the ballot as a means of reducing the expense of an election, if for no other reason; but there existed a jealousy on the part of some who were active campaigners and desired no change from a method with which they were familiar and which so often resulted in victory to the more audacious or pecuniarily aggressive party. The people as a whole, however, were

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anxious for some betterment of their parliamentary election proceedings, and a general election was then measurably in sight. But nobody seemed willing to take early action in the required direction, or even to set forth an initiative resolution or bill. From the early days of Ontario Gritism I had, in the press and through platform utterances, urged the adoption of the ballot, and during my candidature for a seat in the Assembly had promised the electors that, if returned, I would, if necessary, at fitting opportunity introduce a measure extending a protecting hand over the elector, and affording him opportunity to vote without fear of threats or ostracism, or the equally obnoxious intimidation of employers or of the brother members of a secret society. There were ways, too, of using the necessary safeguards of an election so as to make them a means of annoyance and party advantage. I had seen a lawyer, afterwards a member of Parliament, and still later a judge, when acting as agent, put the oath to make the elector, a grey-haired and feeble old man, declare that he was twenty-one years of age, and another, who in his excited protests dropped his "h's" thickly around him, had to swear that he was a British subject. This was done to kill time as the close of the poll drew near, and there were many voters—of views obnoxious to this agent—waiting impatiently to exercise their franchise. At a polling-booth in another place I had seen men driven from the building with broken heads and bruised bodies because it was known that their votes, if recorded, would be contrary to those of the local majority. I had known men, sworn as special constables, use their authority to force back, again and again, from the poll, voters of an opposite party, and I had heard some twenty men who, while taking the oath as special constables, and saying that they would

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keep the peace towards all Her Majesty's subjects, interpolate the words, "except the d—d Grits." I was intimately acquainted with some of the actors in a sad tragedy where, during the progress of a two days' voting, a lot of half-drunken but peaceable men, driving past a tavern, were called back by the hoots of a crowd of opponents, and in the fray which followed one man was shot and killed. I had seen men speaking the German language and very little English, who were in smaller number than their antagonists, deliberately and systematically crowded from the booth and kept from it for two days, until the poll was closed. I had heard of a number of men waiting for the second day of the poll and then being bought up at the rate of fifty cents each, because there was no higher bid, the other candidate refusing to have act or part in such proceedings. I was told by a man of the part taken by himself in an election, where wagon-loads of electors were bought at the cost of \$5 in each case, the money being in unnegotiable bills of the then recently defunct Zimmerman Bank.

I had seen enough to know that a parliamentary election nearly always meant violence and corruption, that the extension of an unprotected suffrage would only afford a wider field for the operations of the briber and the bully, and that the only means of securing order and freedom was to be found in the secret vote. "To vote like a man in broad daylight" sounded very well in theory, but produced poor results when carried out in the midst and under the influence of such orgies as every contested election in those days produced.

The election law in Great Britain had been so far modified as to grant the ballot, the numbered ballot, which permitted a scrutiny if desired, and had been found to work effectively. New Brunswick was using the ballot

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in voting, and finding it to work with ease. A member had, on two occasions, introduced in the Dominion Parliament a Ballot Bill, which did not, however, pass into law. Availing myself of this effort and a copy of the English Act, I prepared and introduced a bill which was intended to be the foundation of an enlarged Ontario measure. Day after day passed without any signification of the Government's intention to acquiesce in its second reading. Upon inquiry, I found that the Cabinet was divided in opinion, that such second reading might not be reached, and that prompt action was necessary if the measure were to be discussed during the session then on. I declared to the Ontario Government my intention to proceed with it on the next opportunity offered by the rules of the House. The difference of opinion as to discussion of the bill continued, and although two members of the Government asked me to withdraw it for further consideration, I persisted, and a debate came off, followed by a vote which was a complete victory for "the Chartist plank." Prominent amongst those taking part was E. B. Wood, of Brant, who, radical as he was in early life, grew more conservative, it would seem, as time passed on, for he spoke against the bill—and voted for it! The fact that some Conservatives supported the bill and some Reformers opposed it is enough to show that the vote was distinctly non-partisan and sufficiently pronounced to warrant the Premier in declaring that the principle of the bill having been assented to, it was now the duty of the Government to perfect its details, and that it would be reintroduced at the next session with such amendments to its present form as might be deemed necessary. The matter is sufficiently important to warrant the insertion here of the division upon which the second reading was carried. On the 6th

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of February, 1873, the six months' hoist was moved in amendment, and lost by a vote of 14 to 50. The second reading was then put and carried on the following division:

YEAS.—Ardagh, Barber, Bethune, Caldwell, Christie, Clarke (Norfolk), Clarke (Wellington), Clemens, Cook, Craig (Glengarry), Craig (Russell), Crosby, Deroche, Farewell, Finlayson, Fraser, Gibbons, Gibson, Gow, Grange, Guest, Haney, Lauder, McKellar, McKim, McLeod, McManus, McRae, Mowat, Oliver, Pardee, Paxton, Prince, Read, Robinson, Scott (Ottawa), Sexton, Sinclair, Smith, Snetzinger, Striker, Watterworth, Webb, Wells, Williams (Durham), Williams (Hamilton), Wilson, Wood (Brant), Wood (Victoria),—50.

NAYS.—Boulter, Boulton, Cameron, Code, Deacon, Fitzsimmons, Hamilton, Macdonald, Meredith, Merrick, Monk, Monteith, Rykert, Tooley,—14.

In the following session, 1874, the Government redeemed its pledge, and vote by ballot at elections for the Legislature became the law. This system of voting was afterwards extended to school and municipal elections, and to Separate Schools when desired by the trustees.

Subsequent to the adoption of the ballot in Ontario, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie introduced a measure in the House of Commons and succeeded in carrying it. The form of the ballot was somewhat different from that used in Ontario. The Dominion ballot was unnumbered and therefore untraceable, and does not afford the protection against forgery and "stuffing" which is found in the numbered ballot. In 1906 the Ontario Government, under the Premiership of Hon. J. P. Whitney, abolished the numbered voting paper, thus practically adopting the Dominion system. In Britain, after an experience of many years, the number is still retained, and there is evi-

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dently no intention to make the radical change which has been effected in Ontario.

There are men yet to be found who regret the loss of the "fun" of a parliamentary election of the old-fashioned style, and others who declare that the ballot has failed to cure the evils for which it was considered a specific, and has, instead, brought other evils in its train. Ignorance and partisan dishonesty have doubtless shown some weak points in the Ballot Act, but few laws on the statute book give perfect satisfaction. It is more easy to detect weaknesses than to provide remedies, but it is to be hoped the tendency will be to improve rather than to repeal the ballot law, which is really the poor man's shield, and, like the Municipal and School Acts, has become a charter of the liberties of the intelligent elector.

It may be interesting to state here that Sir John A. Macdonald said that he was in favor of such a system as would afford the opportunity of a scrutiny, and he hoped the Minister of Justice would alter this portion of the bill—providing for an unnumbered ballot—so that this advantage might be secured.

Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, the Conservative leader in the Senate, then a member of the House of Commons, advocated the system in force in Ontario and Great Britain, on the ground that it afforded greater facility for the punishment, if not the prevention, of personation and fraudulent voting. He moved in amendment that each ballot paper shall have a number on the back, and shall have attached a counterfoil with the same number on the face, but this amendment was not accepted.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MILITIA OF CANADA IN THE FORTIES AND AFTER.

A sudden awakening of a people dependent entirely on British military protection—A dawdling policy—Trust to it and the British—Militia musters on old King George's birthday—Drill of primitive character—"Haw" and "Gee"—Whiskey rations—Captain's cheese-knife—A colt, a young recruit—A colored company—"Auld" Kerr, a model for Canadian youth—Enlisted at 15, and died at 90—The Peninsular War and Waterloo—The *Trent* affair—Canada in a blaze—Formation of independent companies—Musketry instruction and copper caps—Imperial troops—"Guards" for drill instructors—A military spirit at last aroused.

IN 1861 the people of Canada awoke suddenly to the fact that the country was absolutely without other serviceable defence than was afforded by Imperial troops and Imperial military skill. For years red-coated British soldiers had come and gone to and from Canada with regularity, and the fact seemed to be known to residents of our cities only. We had, ages ago, seemingly, driven American soldiers from Canadian soil. We had, after a little smoke and excitement, put down an incipient rebellion, again with the aid of British arms. But for actual protection from attack, or preservation from internal disorder, we relied as entirely and dependently upon British brain, muscle and ability as a toddling child hangs upon a vigorous mother. The good-will of the

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American nation was our chief guarantee for freedom from attack, and money spent in support of an active militia was regarded as so much thrown into the maelstrom of the turbulent Niagara. We were not illiberal when appeals were made to our generosity; we were not blind to our shortcomings when they were pointed out to us; but we were content to dawdle along the road towards effective preparation without arriving at any point promising adequate defence. The position of the Canadas then reminded me forcibly of an exhibition of the military power of the country in 1845. At that date, and for some years before, there had been an annual muster, on old King George's birthday, of the young men of our rural parts not yet enrolled for military purposes. I was then resident in the county of Haldimand, Niagara district, and received a notification that I must proceed to the village of Dunnville and attend the annual muster on the 4th of June. I proceeded there in due course, reported at a named tavern, and "fell in" with some thirty other young fellows in front of it. The specified hour having arrived, we lined up in fair order, and our names were called with military vigor. Then came a veteran carrying a tin pail with something in it, and its bearer stopped in front of every man in turn. A tin dipper descended into the pail and ascended to the welcoming hand of each visitor as he was reached. A gurgle and a smack of the lips, and another nail had been driven into the system of the soldier. Captain Farr, commanding, then appeared in front of the contingent specially under his orders, and called us back to the "Attention" which we had bestowed elsewhere. We were "two deep," if not a little more, and received the order to "wheel" to the "left." Explanation was necessary before we could take up the unexpected movement,

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but after its repetition we were almost equal to the performance of the double shuffle dignified by the name of a "quick march." Then we reached a turn to our left. Dispirited by the response to the previous command to "wheel," the gallant captain—called "Cap," for short, by his corps—politely informed his command that it was useless to tell them what the drill book said, but they must "haw" or "gee" as they were directed. So first we "geed," and then we "hawed," and got there just the same.

There were several squads on the vacant lot to which we had been marched, mostly big lads and young men, who were lying on the ground good-naturedly awaiting orders. One special squad, in uniforms, and really looking soldier-like, were drilling with a combination of snap and vigor. Their backs were turned towards us, but on their countermarching we discovered that our models were all negroes—a company raised during the recent Rebellion and said to have been very efficient in making corduroy roads. They received special notice from the colonel, who wore regimentals, too, and sat his steed—a mare—as if not afraid of it. In passing up and down the line now formed, he gave us ample opportunity, not only to admire his horsemanship, but to form an opinion of the good points of a lively colt running at the heels of its mother. After his little speech of commendation and recommendation, reports were made by company officers, and we involuntarily broke into groups. Then the fun commenced. Wrestling, jumping, "stumping for a horse race," and so forth, soon broke up all semblance of order, and one irreverent and evidently licensed good fellow tiptoed to the rear of the "Cap," and suddenly snatched and drew from its scabbard the slightly rusted sword which had

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been carried through a rebellion now apparently forgotten. A loud haw-haw from the boys, and the advice from one of them to our commanding officer to put up his "old cheese-knife," and we marched back to the tavern to receive another drink, after which the military heroes were dismissed, and more fun and frolic followed.

At Waddington school, in England, the boys were regularly drilled by a Waterloo veteran, who had promoted me as a sergeant in his small command, and I had seen volunteer yeomanry under Lord Yarborough, and was shocked at the looseness here displayed. And this actually occurred in 1845, within a half-dozen miles of the battle-ground of Ridgeway, where, in 1866, university students and other smart young fellows were shot down in a fight with a Fenian "army" coming from Buffalo, and emphasizing the fact that every country worth plundering ought to be able to bolt its doors and keep out burglars.

An important factor in the development of a military spirit in Canada was the presence, at many points, of one or more old soldiers, veterans of the Napoleonic and Peninsular wars. Elora, of which village I have already spoken, was fortunate in the possession of several worthy examples of this class, and the best known and most distinguished was probably William Kerr, who lived with his son in the village for many years, and who was buried there at last in the beautifully situated cemetery, and was given the desire of his heart, a military funeral, attended by a military band, and his coffin covered with the British flag. He was a native of Paisley, Scotland, born in 1791. In 1806, when he was fifteen years old, he offered himself as a recruit in his native town, and although he was so young—fighting material was becoming scarce—he was a tall, well-built lad, and he would pass the inspect-

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ing officer. He said that he felt old enough to fight, and although the weight of his musket would try his strength, Scotch pluck would carry him through. He found others readily thinking as did he, took the shilling, and nobly earned it before he left the service, as a private in the 91st Highlanders, the well-known Argyll Regiment. He was at once sent off with other recruits to Spain, and was present under Picton, of whom he spoke with a feeling akin to reverence, of the many engagements which ended with Toulouse. There the 91st was exposed to the heavy fire of the French artillery during a battle fought after peace had been declared, although, of course, the fact was not known to the opposing generals. "Auld" Kerr was with Sir John Moore on his retreat, and fought at Corunna on the 16th of January, 1809. The 91st was one of the regiments covering the retreat, and the veteran told, with exciting enthusiasm, of the sad necessity which compelled the slaughter of the artillery and cavalry horses, shot and thrown over the cliffs at Corunna, and which otherwise would have been used by the French as food. He was not present at the burial of Sir John Moore, made doubly famous by the lines of Wolfe, but was in the ranks covering the retreat. He was with his regiment at Nivelle, Nive, the Pyrenees, Bayonne, Vittoria, Orthez, Toulouse, and the minor engagements which distinguished Wellington's final campaign in Spain. After Corunna the 91st was sent to Ireland to recruit, and embarked for America in 1814, but the order was countermanded, and in 1815 the regiment, consisting very largely of recruits, was sent to Ostend, and marched to Ghent and Oudenarde, and in June of that year young Kerr was with his regiment in the reserves at Waterloo. In the general advance which closed that great battle, the 91st did its part with zeal, after a

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whole day of forced inaction under continuous fire. After the advance into France, Cambray, a French stronghold, was assaulted and taken, and here our hero received his first serious wound, a fragment of the stone walls of the fortification striking him in one eye and rendering it sightless. The 91st was the first regiment of British infantry to enter Paris, and Kerr was in its leading company. He remained in France with the army of occupation for four years, and was discharged in 1819 with a pension of a shilling a day. The old man had most happy recollections of his stay in Paris, and one formed from his stories a pleasant picture of the kindly bourgeois fraternizing with the foreigner and politely aiding him in the struggle with the language. The *curé* too, loomed large in the picture, as he does, or did, in the French life of that day, and altogether the years of garrison duty in Paris were years of relaxation and genial growth after the wear and tear of much fighting.

The 91st, having been in reserve at Waterloo, was neglected in the subsequent distribution of medals and special pensions, and its claims were undecided until 1876, after which time William Kerr received, besides a shilling a day for service pension, 1s. 3d. additional for Waterloo, and entered into possession of the coveted and long-withheld medal. He died in 1878, as good a soldier as ever bore British arms.

We have given a fair picture of the Canadas from a military point of view after the Rebellion of 1837, and until the events of 1861 saw the United States disrupted and fighting, and threatening every day, by some unforeseen blunder, to drag Great Britain into the controversy. Men were excited and alarmed, and a firm conviction prevailed that Canada must cease to be wholly reliant upon British lives, blood and armaments. A move

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towards expansion of the active militia force must be made, and steps were slowly taken to increase the number of volunteer companies, of which a comparatively few had been organized. In the county of Wellington, where I resided, but one company of rifles existed, and a company of garrison artillery was formed. As typical of the slow progress of the volunteer movement throughout the province, and of the lack of encouragement given to it in its early days, I may cite the action in the county of Wellington,* peopled largely by men of British birth or parentage. In April meetings were held in the villages of Fergus, Elora and Mount Forest, and a determination expressed that a volunteer corps should be raised in each of these places. The attendance was large, the enthusiasm genuine, and the service rolls were rapidly filled. This was in April, 1861. In that year the United States was enduring all the horrors of war in its southern and central States, and upon both sides troops were rushed to the front in tens of thousands—not so lavishly as in after years, but so numerous that a long and fierce war looked inevitable. And yet no active movement in the way of enlistment, distribution of arms and competent drill was made to any extent by our central authorities. It was not until August that the three Wellington companies, organized in April, were given official standing, and then they were uniformed at their own expense, as was the case with volunteers throughout the land. This system gave them a voice in the selection of the material of their uniforms. The Elora company was a

* It ought to be told here, that the County Council of Wellington has regularly voted an additional 25 cents per diem, to be paid to every man of rank and file present during the period of the annual encampment, and that the city of Guelph has invariably followed this excellent example with its two rifle companies and well-known field battery. The battalion band is also pecuniarily assisted annually.

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rifle corps, and ordinarily would have worn the rifle green, but it was thought that more suitable dress might be procured than the imported regulation uniform, and of cloth manufactured in the country. After a short delay the experiment was made. The color selected was a dark fawn, and when this was seen by Col. McDougall, the inspecting officer, it was at once approved of. Col. McDougall went further, and recommended the general adoption of similar material, a strong cloth woven in the woollen mills at Galt. But the powers controlling the militia did not agree with the business views of the Galt manufacturer, and refused to depart from the practice of supplying to colonials uniforms made for British troops of the line. As a result, the opportunity was lost for the adoption of khaki uniform, until the losses of the African war awoke the authorities to the value of a color undistinguishable at a much less distance than the flaring scarlet, of which every hand's breadth shows against the green of grass or the verdant foliage of woodlands. It may be added that another company in the vicinity of Elora used a steel-grey satinette in the manufacture of their clothing, and were well satisfied with it as a protection for troops engaged in skirmishing, although the khaki was preferred by all seeing both when effects could be compared.

It is true that newly-formed companies in the early sixties purchased their own uniforms, but it is proper to add that the Government reimbursed the outlay to a partial extent, after the stability of the several corps had been established by the performance of as many drills as was determined by the authorities to be necessary to secure "effective" men. For many years now cloth for uniforms has been made in Canada, and in every case the quality was found to be superior to that of imported

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goods. In those days, however, when real war seemed imminent, and men went to the front to fight, if necessary, color of cloth was a secondary consideration, and men were more intent upon acquiring the art of a good shot than to deck themselves in holiday array. And it is almost depressing to look back and see the enormous coil of red tape which was wound round everything. Of this the sending of the Elora company—my model for the purpose of illustration—to the front in 1866, before the Fenian raid, gave ample proof. Although formed some years before, in 1861, that company was sent to the frontier in 1866 without overcoat straps, and had to manufacture them out of strong carpet binding. It was also compelled to use, upon dark-green rifle uniforms, white pipeclayed belts, which could not be blackened until General Napier, who was at Toronto, granted the necessary permission; and then the volunteers were not allowed to make the change, but the old soldiers of the Canadian Rifles, with whom the Elora company was lying in barracks at Chatham, did the work and received the pay. To this no objection was made, and some of the veterans of that worthy corps fought their battles o'er again while disposing of the unexpected windfall.

The old Minie rifle, discarded from the regular service, was the weapon furnished to the volunteers of early days, and some excellent shooting at short ranges was recorded. A plentiful supply of percussion caps was sent with the annual allowance of ammunition, and aiming drill at first consisted of discharging these caps at a lighted candle. Although the distance was short, there were men who could not "blow the candle out," and the steadiness of aim which followed at regular target practice proved the effectiveness of the simple drill. It may not be out of place to state that I was a member of the

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company at its formation and was gazetted in 1861 as lieutenant. My brother officers, Captain Donaldson and Ensign Newman, made enthusiastic soldiers, and we were ready to turn out, at short order, a well-drilled company. Its composition was typical of that of many other isolated companies at various points in the Canada of that date. After the *Trent* difficulty, the Imperial Government sent out to Canada a number of first-class drill sergeants, many from the Guards, who travelled from point to point and were delighted by the rapid progress made by the many close students of the military art. Amongst the recruits were numerous mechanics, clerks, and intelligent young fellows of all classes, who quickly manifested their understanding of the instruction given to them, and their appreciation of the fact that this drill foreshadowed possibilities in the near future, and that the efforts of the instructors were not a waste of time, but really added to the defensive means of one of the finest countries in the world. Whatever the impelling motive, the result of the readiness and aptitude of young Canadians for military life was most encouraging to the statesmen of the country, who felt the heavy responsibilities resting upon them, and a fair interest was properly taken by the Government of the day in the full development of a peace establishment of which as a people we have had good reason to feel proud.

When the test of our loyalty, our common sense and our patriotism came in 1861, the *Trent* affair set the whole country ablaze. An indifferent people became belligerent in sentiment. Better war, despite our unpreparedness, we as one man declared, than a craven submission to an intolerant outrage. We were at once Canadian and British. Whatever Anglophobia might have taken possession of a few dissatisfied French

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Canadians disappeared in a single night, and a bright morning dissipated the thin mist which had obscured the evening vision. The people of Upper and Lower Canada were one, and from the mad act of an ambitious but ill-judging American naval captain sprang the united Canada which ended in Confederation, the opening of the North-West, and that recognition of a new nation which speedily followed. There was a certain amount of friction or indifference before the event; there was a sympathetic prayer for a recognition of the South and the successful growth of a new power after it. British troops were rushed across the Atlantic in face of coming winter, and that famous march through the snows of New Brunswick passed into history. The country was on the verge of war, Fortunately, upon both sides of the line, there were leading men of ordinary foresight who were able to control the situation, who saw the immensity of the danger, acted cautiously, and skilfully avoided it. Remonstrance was courteously but firmly expressed. While irresponsible newspaper men were attempting to lash the two peoples into fury, the everyday, thinking and acting men of the great Republic took steps towards reconciliation or abeyance of active condemnation, and the final effort for the preservation of peace led to neutral action on the part of the cool heads of British diplomacy, and ended in a simple apology, the liberation of Mason and Slidell, the exchange of courtesies, and the return of old relations between America and Britain, although the latter had been the more severely tried.

The conflict between the Northern States and the Southern Confederation continued until the exhausted resources of the South terminated the unnatural and deplorable war. The struggles of the contending parties

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ended, as might have been expected, in the gradual and at last rapid decadence of the more thinly populated section of the Union. And while the Southerners fought with undiminished pluck, they could not effect the impossible. Daily were the Northern States pushing men towards the very vitals of the Confederacy, and the inevitable result was not less perceptible to Lee than to Grant. Both must have wished for the culmination. It arrived, and the world rejoiced and welcomed a peace which closed one of the most bloody pages in history.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FENIAN INVASION.

Close of the American War—Fenian attack from Buffalo—Independent companies battalionized—Canadian youth make good soldiers—No jingoism or junkerism—"Conscription" an unknown word—Intentions of Fenian invaders well known in advance of attack—Chatham—Royal Canadian Rifles—Drill thorough—A parson of the old school—Fenian alarms—Men prompt and ready from Sandwich to Nova Scotia—The *Sunburst* afloat—A very short visit to Canada—British tars—Artillery practice—A horse-breaking surgeon as a private citizen—The force generally.

WITH the cessation of the American war came a somewhat chaotic state of fiscal matters in the United States, and Canada, almost necessarily, sympathized commercially with her neighbor. But Upper Canada had more than matters of dollars and cents to contend with. The close of the rebellion cast thousands of unquiet men upon the labor market of the continent, and they preferred a life, now closed to them, in which the military element was superior to the mere civilian, and conceived a plan which might give opportunity to these marauders to obtain desired occupation. After weeks of preparation, a Fenian invasion was projected and attempted. Crossing in scows from Buffalo about the end of May, a large armed party reached the Canadian shore at Fort Erie, causing much excitement and the hurried assembly of troops at different points. The Fenian invaders, ad-

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vancing in the direction of Hamilton, were attacked by Canadian militia on the following morning, and defeated with loss of life on both sides. This was known as the battle of Ridgeway, and the events of that time may be regarded as the genesis of an active force in Canada worthy of the name. In September of that year the scattered independent companies, as they were termed, were formed into battalions, and something like valuable organization was gone about in a systematic manner. The "establishment" of an eight-company battalion consisted of 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon, 1 quartermaster, 1 paymaster, 24 company officers, 24 sergeants, 24 corporals, with a total of, say, about 400 rank and file. A few battalions mustered over this strength, while more fell below it, but for years this was regarded as the complement. Fenian rumors did much to maintain the numerical strength of the force, but it was not dependent upon this alone. Canadians have a natural aptitude for soldiering, and when we remember the varied employments of our young men in the daily life of the farm, the factory, the lumber woods, the fisheries, the mine, the lakes and their navigation, the shop, the office, we see at once how such a people must naturally possess the resourcefulness and initiative fitting them for active military life. Every year since the date of that assumption of manhood by Canadians has our military system been made acceptable without fuss and feathers; and while, like all human institutions, it has its defects, there is intelligent management at its head, and a departmental control free from jingoism or junkerism or other military fad. Canada is defended on business principles, and its representatives are fairly up to their work. If ever circumstances force our people to self-protection they know that they have a country

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worthy of defence, and will not be backward in using their utmost efforts with that end in view.

Our military schools are the practical outcome of a determined preparation for a defence which all pray may never be needed, and the valued work done there is highly appreciated in Great Britain, where many Canadian cadets are helping to officer the Imperial army. In our public schools, especially in Ontario, a system of drill has been inaugurated which is an excellent physical training and cannot fail to record its effects in the health and nerve of a coming generation.

"Conscription" is a word which has not found place in our programme of things necessary, and it is safe to prophesy that it never will, unless under circumstances which will bring every adult willingly into the ranks of our defensive force.

The intention of the rank and file of the Fenian sympathizers to make an attack on the western frontier of Canada West in 1866 was so evident that preparations were made to circumvent them or to totally prevent their progress. Windsor and Sarnia became two important points for action, and there was ample evidence of Fenian plans in these directions. And when coming events were so freely and loosely discussed by the chief lieutenants of Fenian leaders, there was no difficulty in detecting the "something in the wind." As a consequence, an order was issued for active service of the then organized militia. To offer opposition, if it became necessary, and, at any rate, to expose the Fenian policy and plans, isolated companies were ordered out in March, and still others in April. Sarnia and Windsor were notified, and a select but not numerous force was placed in billets at both places. In April the Elora company was summoned, and I mention it specially because I was its commanding officer,

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and therefore its experiences, similar, no doubt, to those of other independent companies, are best known to me. The Guelph and other companies of No. 1 District were sent to the front for duty before the date of the "invasion," and some of the various corps had been actually ordered home again before the general call was made. The Guelph company remained in billets until the general order to return to ordinary company headquarters had been issued, and so had a longer experience than many other of these corps. The Owen Sound, Stratford, Thamesford, Chatham and other western volunteers acquired a good knowledge of military matters during this experience, and, through the use of rope drill, gained some idea of battalion movements. These isolated companies, gathered at Windsor, Sarnia, Chatham, Stratford and elsewhere, remained efficient in drill for some years afterwards. The Elora corps was one of those making good use of its opportunity.

About six weeks before the coming of the Fenian force to Fort Erie, the Elora company was ordered to Chatham, white belts and all, and placed under the command of Captain Boyd, of the Royal Canadian Rifles. This corps was made up of veterans, men who had been discharged and re-enlisted. The routine work of the barracks was, as far as possible, turned over to the volunteers. This set the old soldiers at liberty, and those of them whose good conduct had proved them worthy of trust, got leave to go into the town to procure work—wood-cutting, gardening and other odd jobs—always, of course, holding themselves in readiness for a summons back to military duty. Drill commenced at six a.m., lasting two hours, and by drilling the two companies in single line, battalion movements were possible. The drill was under Sergeant O'Reilly, an excellent soldier

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and a thorough master of interior economy. Altogether, this opportunity to work beside picked and experienced regulars was invaluable to both officers and men, and while the old soldiers would sometimes slyly play tricks on the colonials, and would follow orders—especially a wrong order—down a well, or over the hills and far away, the general relations existing between the two bodies were most agreeable. With the citizens, too, we got on admirably. We had found, upon our arrival, a hostile feeling, accentuated by our unfortunate white belts, which caused us to be taken for infantry, and to be classed with an unpopular infantry company which had just moved out; but, as I have said, our belts were soon blacked, which had the odd effect of making our reputation “white”; and when, after seven weeks, we left Chatham we were on the best possible terms with all and sundry. The mayor and councillors, a brass band and a big drum accompanied us to the station, an address was read which dwelt largely upon our special and general merits, and everybody asked, “Wull ye no’ come back agen?” One of the pleasant memories of my stay in Chatham is associated with the kindly personality and beautiful garden of Archdeacon Sandys, a parson of the old school, worthy to be remembered as a Canadian Dean Hole.

We returned to Elora from Chatham in time for a Queen’s Birthday demonstration, and had an opportunity of showing the increased efficiency of our company. The time spent away from home and business, with small pay, had meant considerable sacrifice for all, but there was no grumbling from the men, and their course had the hearty commendation of their neighbors. It was supposed that the Fenian scare was over, and we were gradually settling down as ordinary citizens, when, on the morn-

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ing of June 2nd, a telegram arrived, directing the Elora company to proceed to Stratford and await orders. The telegram ought to have reached me on the evening of the 1st, and the intention was to send us to the Niagara frontier, but there was a mysterious delay in the forwarding of the message, and from Stratford the Elora and Fergus companies under my command were sent on to Point Edward. The Fergus company went on to Sarnia, where the officers were billeted at the home of Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. We remained at Point Edward, and formed part of a detachment under Major Graham. This detachment and some other twelve companies were commanded by Lieut.-Col. Richardson, of Woodstock, afterwards a justice in the North-West.

There was expectation of a raid from Port Huron on the night of Saturday, 2nd of June, and about midnight an alarm was given, but was unfounded, although the officer commanding the American forces at Fort Gratiot crossed the river and asked that the *Spicer*, the large railway ferry-boat, should be kept on the Canadian side, as otherwise an attempt would be made to seize it, and he could not rely upon his men, whose sympathy was with the marauders. The *Spicer* was detained on the Canadian side, and the threatened raid eventuated in nothing more serious than the cutting of the cable crossing the river at this point. On the following night drums were heard in Port Huron, on the west bank of the River St. Clair, and there was a turn-out of Fenian strength there, but nothing resulted. On Sunday night came intelligence by wire that Fenians were landing at Camlachie, and a full company of selected men was despatched to reconnoitre. Upon their return, it was ascertained that a vessel lay off the harbor, that boats were passing to and from the shore, and that Canadian

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whiskey, always preferred in Michigan by the best judges, was being carried into the United States without the payment of the legal demands thereon. But the alarm tested the watchfulness of the soldiery, and their promptitude was satisfactory.

Soon after, reports were received from Chicago that a vessel was leaving that port in charge of a captain who had bet heavily that he would carry the Fenian *Rising Sun* through British waters. He was regularly looked for by the curious among us, but his vessel did not appear until more than a week had elapsed, when a "tow" of several schooners, with a tug-boat at its head, passed at its full speed to the Canadian side of the river. The object of this move was not at first perceived, but at the masthead of one of the boats was flauntingly displayed the "Sunburst," and on the wharf was quickly assembled a crowd of angry citizens, composed of Grand Trunk employees and others, who hissed and howled at the obnoxious display. Captain Dawson, of the Thamesford company, officer of the day, called out the guard, ordered his men to load with ball cartridge, and the United States and Great Britain would, in a few seconds, have been on the verge of war, had not Major Graham, who had been looking after suspected Fenians on the *Spicer*, run rapidly to the guard-room, and with his sword struck up the rifles of the guard, who had already raised them, awaiting the order to fire. Meanwhile, the helmsman of the offending vessel had run in a stooping position to the forecandle, and doubtless blessed his stars at the intervention. Telegrams were sent to Col. Shanley, then down the river, and he, in company with the United States officials, boarded the American vessel, but found nothing of an incriminating character.

Upon the night when the cable was cut, Mr. Stewart,

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agent of the Grand Trunk Railway at Port Huron and Point Edward, took the "General Grant," the fastest engine in the yard, and ran to Detroit at a mile-a-minute rate. On arrival he found that the attempted trip to Canada of a Fenian excursion hadn't come off as promised, although a steamboat had gone down the river with a large crowd of sympathizers on board, and returned to port without landing its cargo. Stewart ordered the switches on the G. T. R. to be left open all night, while regular traffic was suspended.

Throughout this time we found the officials and men of the Grand Trunk ready to lend any possible aid in facilitating the plans of the military.

That we might not be entirely dependent on land forces for defence, a gunboat was manufactured out of a tug, covered with sheet iron, which might have turned a rifle bullet, but its resisting powers, fortunately, were not put to a test. It was manned by a crew from one of Her Majesty's ships then lying at Quebec, and the antics of these jolly fellows, when on shore for a lark, were as diverting as one of Jacobs' sailor stories. The countryside was theirs, although they could not wander far from port, and chipmunks were their special pets and prey. How many of the striped beauties were captured and taken down to Quebec as reminders of the happily fruitless Fenian raid in the west was never reported, but of the satisfaction of the captors of the saucy little squirrels or dormice, as the case may be, there could be no possible doubt. After a cruise to Goderich, the "fleet" returned to Point Edward, and thence the Jackies were despatched "home" to their snug quarters on the St. Lawrence.

When this "gunboat," manned by British sailors, approached Point Edward the American Fort Gratiot

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fired a salute, and the detachment from the fleet acknowledged it. Much to the disgust of the Britishers, the Americans fired their guns with more rapidity and completed their salute sooner than their friendly rivals. Curses loud and deep followed the *contretemps*, and the *entente cordiale* appeared to be in danger until the secret was out. The American soldiers had been using three muzzle-loading brass howitzers, while the British had used one breechloader, which they had handled nearly as rapidly as their opponents had fired the three. The results were broken windows in the G. T. R. station, opposite to which the gunboat was lying, and a fraternization which lasted until a late hour next morning.

These were small incidents, but they helped to relieve the tedium of those sometimes slow summer days, which were beginning to slightly shorten before we were released from active duty and ordered to return to local headquarters, holding ourselves in readiness for a possible recall.

As an illustration of what a camp ought to be, one was established at Thorold, as a protection to the Welland Canal, and this consisted of a regiment of the line, the Grey Battery, fresh from the Crimea, and a provisional battalion of infantry, made up from isolated companies of the active militia. When the Elora company went out, it was to be associated with companies from Galt, Fergus, Mount Forest, the Guelph garrison artillery, etc. The weather was unpropitious, as during our first night under canvas, and on every day excepting that preceding our departure for home, rain poured continuously. Although field movements, much to everybody's regret, were impossible, excellent target practice was made under a British musketry instructor,

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and the experience of camp life proved to be of great use in future years. Sir Garnet Wolseley was in command, but left the force, for a few days, in the hands of Col. Hoste, a Crimean hero, and returned only as we were passing out on our way to the station. One of the most noticeable and useful officers in that camp was Major George Denison, of Toronto, who was on outpost duty along the banks of the Niagara.

The day following our arrival at Thorold, I was acting as senior officer of the day, and was going my rounds of inspection, when our surgeon offered to accompany me. Glad of good company, and with a dim idea of the exact discharge of my duties, I assented. The doctor ostensibly went along to see the sights, but really to break in the adjutant's horse, and carried with him a mallet handle, as more serviceable than a riding-whip. His uniform was scarcely up to regulation mark, for it began with a pair of ordinary long boots, followed by well-worn corduroy hunting breeches, over which and his ordinary coat was enwrapped a huge mackintosh, the costume being completed by a little cap of most irregular fashion. His horse was troublesome, but the doctor was an excellent rider, and safely guided him to the parade ground, where the guard was to be inspected. The sharp command to "Halt!" was given, and a sentry stepped forward to the doctor, telling him that no private persons were permitted there. The sentry, an old soldier, was sorry, but "Private citizens could not be allowed here," and he approached the horse, which evidently was not used to such undue familiarities. The horse rushed to the right and left under a shower of blows from the mallet handle, but the doctor didn't lose his presence of mind or his seat. The sentry, as opportunity offered,

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repeated that none but officers could be allowed upon such sacred ground. The doctor asserted again and again that he was an officer, emphasizing his remarks with a fluency which came of some practice. The sentry was obstinate, the horse nearly wild, and the doctor wholly irascible, as he once more told the astonished sentry that he was an officer, and the poor fellow, overcome by much protestation, replied, "Then, sir, you don't look like one." Fortunately, at this precise moment the brigade major came on the ground. I explained the position and the doctor returned to his tent, not to sulk, but to laugh long and loudly over the absurd incident.

That camp at Thorold was the first of many which I attended before my resignation from the force. While there, I was gazetted major of the newly formed 30th Battalion, Lieut.-Col. Higinbotham, of Guelph, being the first in command, an excellent officer and a truly loyal man. Upon his retirement, I was promoted to the rank of lieut.-colonel of that regiment, and remained in command more than twenty years. During that time we had brigade camps at Windsor, Goderich, Guelph, London and St. Thomas, and on two occasions I was brigade commander. Naturally, in those years, I made the acquaintance of many brother officers, and saw much of the enlisted men, and as years went on, my respect for the efficiency, courage and reliability of the Canadian militia was constantly increased. While in camp, we were always visited by the British officer in command of the forces in Canada. These men impressed one by their courtesy and the thorough earnestness with which they performed their duties. District officers whose fine qualities specially recall them were Col. Taylor, who died

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at Winnipeg while drilling his command, and Lord Aylmer, but recently retired from the office of Adjutant-General.

Nothing need be added as to the *esprit du corps* existing in the ranks of the Canadian militia, the good character of its work, the utility of its drill, and, more than all beside, the spirit of sincere patriotism which distinguishes all ranks of its service.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—A SINGLE CHAMBER SUCCESSFUL.

A single Chamber—Eighty-two members—General Stisted—Lieutenant-Governor Howland—A coalition—The key-note—A possible alliance dreaded—First Speech—Forgivable eccentricities—A good hater—John A. and Sandfield MacDonald—Control of the local—The coalition—Cameron, Carling, Richards and Wood—Edward Blake—Archibald McKellar—First Speaker—The first division—The Address—List of members—A dutiful people—Delino Dexter Calvin—The six months' hoist—Upper Canada College—Indemnity—Controverted elections—Third session—Blake's resolutions—Asylum for Blind—Exemptions—Party lines—New system—Old men—Fourth session—Much ado about nothing—The surplus—Platform building—Weakened faith in coalition—Mirage disappearing—General election.

WHEN the task of ruling Ontario through a single Chamber was taken up in 1867, the system was regarded as an experiment, and there were many of Conservative instincts who dreaded the change, although willing to accord to it a fair trial. It was thought by others that the Legislature would be simply an extension of municipal machinery, and these sought to minimize its importance and working value by styling it "a mere County Council on a large scale." The fears of these imaginative Jeremiahs were unfounded. Invested with the full legislative abilities of a Parliament, protected and controlled by the ægis of responsible government, under



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which only it could exist, and possessing executive authority of the widest possible range, it has never trespassed upon the rights of the people, enacted laws inimical to their requirements, nor imposed taxation which has been obnoxious to the general interests.

At the time of Confederation, the Ontario Chamber consisted of 82 members, but has already made several increases to its numbers, as the requirements of public service have warranted, and it is probable that, with the added demands of rapidly settling northern territory, further additions will be made from time to time.

The authority under which a Legislature or Parliament for the Province of Ontario was called was the issuance of a Proclamation by Lieut.-Governor Henry William Stisted on the 7th of August, 1867, declaring that: "Whereas we are desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our People of our Province of Ontario, and to have their advice in Parliament; we do make known our Royal Will and Pleasure to call a Legislature or Parliament, and do further declare that by the advice of our Executive Council of Ontario, we have this day given orders for issuing our Writs in due form, for calling a Legislature or Parliament in our said Province, which Writs are to bear date on the seventh day of August instant, and to be returnable on the twenty-fourth day of September next."

The newly-constituted Government went to the country, and as there was no organized Opposition with an acknowledged leader, the elections were determined largely by local feelings and conditions. There was amongst the majority of the Reformers a smouldering distrust of the new rulers and a dread of playing into the hands of John A., which resulted in the return of a considerable number of men avowedly opposed to the

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Coalition Government, and of these Mr. McKellar subsequently became the chosen leader.

The first Legislative Assembly of Ontario met in the somewhat ancient brick buildings on Front and Simcoe Streets, on 27th December, 1867. The old hall, in which had gathered the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of early time, was so crowded with the principal citizens of Toronto, accompanied by their wives and daughters, that its seating capacity was insufficient, and there were hundreds who could not find admission. The Speech from the Throne was read by Major-Gen. Henry William Stisted, C.B., who announced in the first paragraph that, "In accordance with the provision of a Statute of the Imperial Parliament for the Federal Union of the British North American Provinces, and for the erection of separate local governments in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, I have been deputed, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, to open the first session of the Legislature of Ontario." And with what mingled feelings of patriotism and satisfaction must those present have heard the proud announcement of the opening of a new era, and the inauguration of a more advanced political existence.

Major-Gen. Stisted held the position of Lieutenant-Governor until July 14th, 1868, when he was succeeded by HON. WILLIAM PEARCE HOWLAND, for some years previous a prominent member of the Reform party of Upper Canada, and who willingly threw aside his political predilections for the wider service of all Ontario.

The Speech from the Throne was moderate in character, as might be expected under such conditions as governed its inception, for the new Government was eminently of coalition character, and while it set forth

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no declaration of even moderate Conservative tendency, it did not, and was not expected by its opponents to plunge into the advocacy of measures which had been made the exclusive property of Upper Canadian Reformers. The legislators were instructed that it would be their duty to consider the best and most appropriate means of husbanding their resources, and of augmenting, as far as possible, the public wealth, and they were admonished "always to remember that they formed the most prominent and populous portion of a new-born Dominion." In these two passages we have, I think, the keynote of John Sandfield Macdonald's course as Premier—to save money and to assert the importance of Ontario, which gradually, probably unconsciously, came to mean the importance of his Government and his leadership. He had opposed Confederation, and was not even then fully convinced of the advantages derivable from a union under which he thought it possible, if not probable, that the smaller provinces might, by combination, thwart the broader policy of Ontario and Quebec. He was evidently awake to the possibility of an alliance between one of the premier provinces and a majority of the smaller bodies, but he was over-cautious. He underestimated the strength of Ontario, and over-rated the cohesive character of the Maritime element, and his prudence was tainted with a tinge of cowardice. Therefore was it that he moved slowly, refused to take up the broader policy which had distinguished him as a representative of Reform principles in Upper Canada, and verged upon a weakness which ought not to have existed in a leader of the experience of J. S. Macdonald. This want of a more generous and definite policy was the rock upon which he ultimately struck.

JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD was a veteran poli-

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tician who had already filled the position of Premier of the united Canadas. His integrity was undoubted, while his personal qualities were such as to secure to him the faithful adherence of his immediate followers. He had eccentricities which were usually overlooked, and did not seriously interfere with his general popularity. If not oratorical he could tersely explain his views, and secure their acceptance by his hearers. His antecedents, of many years' standing, were proof of the sincerity of his Reform principles, and when he took up the reins of office, he did so in the firm conviction that his policy would be in accordance with his professions in early life. He was a Roman Catholic, but his religious sentiments, and they were undoubtedly genuine, never dragged him into polemical discussion, or to a subservient attitude on the Separate School question. He had one distinguishing weakness; he was a good hater, and had no love for George Brown. These two men never heartily became one on any question which occupied the public mind. I remember an incident, unimportant in itself, but which markedly illustrated the feeling so evidently and constantly existent. At the formation of the Brown-Dorion administration, a public dinner was given in the village of Elora in honor of the event. This occurred in days when railways had not reached that section of country, and the ministerial visitors travelled from Guelph in carriages. A party from Elora met the invited guests a few miles out, and escorted them to that village. These guests were men notable then, although afterwards better known. There were John Sandfield Macdonald, A. A. Dorion, Oliver Mowat, Michael Foley, A. Ferguson Blair, Luther H. Holton, David Stirton and others, but minus the chief, George Brown. I naturally inquired why he was



HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD,
First Premier of the Province of Ontario.

From an Oil Painting by

J. W. L. Forster, R.C.A., Toronto.

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absent. Some one replied that private affairs had compelled his return from Hamilton to Toronto, and I expressed regret. An irascible voice from the interior of a carriage immediately and snappishly asked, "Can't you do without George Brown for a single night?" The voice was the voice of Sandfield, and his question was never answered, his hearers being too much astonished to readily find a reply suitable to the time and circumstances.

This dislike for George Brown and the Brownite section of the Liberal party, and the fact that John A. Macdonald had, as it were, stood godfather for the first Ontario Premier, doubtless had much to do with his choice of colleagues, a choice which had rather discredited him with the more uncompromising members of the Reform party, who had not approved of the "hunting in couples" of the two Premiers during the general elections of 1867. John A. continued to exhibit a fatherly interest in the Government of the other Macdonald, and was not always, we gather, entirely content with its course. In the "Life of John A. Macdonald," by Joseph Pope, at page 20, second volume, we read: "The relations between Ottawa and Toronto were, on the whole, friendly, though the local Premier's exalted views of the functions and prerogatives of his Legislature, his intractability and unwillingness to take advice from anybody, added not a little to the weight of Sir John Macdonald's responsibilities. On the other hand, he expected to have a voice in all matters of federal concern affecting Ontario, and was much dissatisfied when, from any reason, action was taken without reference to him. So concerned was Sir John for the successful administration of provincial affairs that at one time he seriously thought of entering the

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local house with a view of keeping an eye on its legislation. It is not surprising, however, that he found this plan impracticable." In a letter to Mr. Alex. Campbell, afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, Sir John thus wrote, after the death in September, 1868, of Sir Henry Smith, the local member for Frontenac: "Do you know (this is strictly *entre nous*) that I have some idea of running for Frontenac myself? I want a check on the powers that be in Toronto, and if I were a member of the local I could make all things pleasant for Sandfield in the Dominion Parliament. This, however, is merely a crude idea which may never come to anything."

It is interesting, but not very profitable, to speculate upon the situation that would have been created had this "crude idea" been carried out.

The coalition Cabinet of five was so formed as to give full influence to the Conservatives of the province, and fairly represented the moderate Reformers of the day. The most prominent of the colleagues of John Sandfield was HON MATTHEW CROOKS CAMERON, an eminent lawyer, a consistent Conservative, and a man of kindly disposition. He was a vigorous fighter, and loved to meet an opponent in the wordy war, and in his many political contests had struck, again and again, without counting the cost and with a sole desire to gain a needed political advantage. With him was HON. JOHN CARLING, who while not an extremist, possessed practical ability, respected his position, and was *persona grata* with men on Opposition and Government benches alike. The Reform element, after the Premier, was represented by the HON. E. B. WOOD, of Brant, who acted as Provincial Treasurer, and displayed abilities fitting him for the position. He was eminent as an advocate at the

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Bar, especially as a criminal lawyer, and was a politician. The third representative of moderate Reform was the Hon. STEPHEN RICHARDS, a man of high principles, a plodding lawyer, a good office executive, and free from extreme party zeal.

The Government had reason to point with pride to the many prominent men whom they could number amongst their supporters. With such followers as Sir Henry Smith, Hon. R. W. Scott (Ottawa), Fred. W. Cumberland, Colonel Williams, John Coyne, A. W. Lauder, M. W. Strange, Charles Rykert, Andrew Monteith, William Lount, A. D. Ferrier, Simpson McCall, Thos. N. Ferguson and James Craig, they might feel that, if not invincible, they were upheld by brain, experience, and character. Arrayed against this strong phalanx was a body of men whose names have been common property to the Canadian people since Confederation. Amongst them were Edward Blake, Archibald McKellar, Timothy Pardee, Peter Gow, Robert Christie, Hon. J. McMurrich, George Perry, James Trow, John Lorn McDougall, Jacob Baxter, William Barber, Hugh Finlayson, John McLeod, Moses Springer, Adam Oliver and others. The House was a fairly representative one, and in the orderly conduct of public business set an example worthy of imitation and respect. Its members had a fair knowledge of and due regard for the observance of the Rules of Procedure, and respect for the forms handed down through the centuries, and which have made the British Legislature truly "the Mother of Parliaments." Looking at this first assemblage of the people's representatives, the men of the present day have no reason to feel ashamed of the quality or conduct of the Provincial Legislature which assembled in 1867.

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EDWARD BLAKE, as the leader of an Opposition in Ontario and Ottawa, who had held various high positions, and who had necessarily come in contact with varied representatives of public and private opinions, stands pre-eminently first of those now living who helped to bring about the advantages which Confederation has undoubtedly conferred upon Canada.

Although Blake was a young man at his entrance to public life, in his knowledge of parliamentary law he stood above many of his associates, for the bent of his mind led him to a study of its intricacies, and his position compelled him to frequently and promptly use his knowledge. He was alert in his insistence upon the very letter of that law, when occasion demanded firmness, but he was never merely pedantic, and did not attempt to take such advantage as a strain upon formalism might have justified. He was cool in debate, unless aroused by some extraordinary event, and had a style which convinced his hearers that he was earnestly placing before them that which he believed to be true. Possessing an excellent physique, a cultured voice, easily followed, a pronunciation which never slurred nor over-emphasized, a quiet manner and great argumentative skill, and, more than all, a thorough acquaintance with his subject, he was ever a formidable antagonist, upon either the platform or the floor of the House, and his attacks upon the Sandfield Administration, in the last days of its existence, exhibited all the skill of a Canning combined with the pertinacity and logical ability of a Gladstone.

ARCHIBALD MCKELLAR, leader of Ontario Reformers in the first session, although he admitted Mr. Blake's superiority in knowledge of political tactics, was a man of natural talent, fairly cultivated, and played no mean

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part in the education of the electorate during his occupancy of the position of Opposition Leader. He could be good-naturedly sarcastic, and seldom resorted to fierce invective, but he was not wanting in the ability to deal a heavy blow when he deemed it called for. As a platform speaker he was equal to any ordinary emergency, and turned aside the shaft aimed at himself or others with a readiness of wit and humor which found friends for him in every constituency. He was a practical joker, too, and would have been at home in the company of a Sothern or a Toole. As an administrator of the Government succeeding that of Sandfield Macdonald, he was a creditable Commissioner of Public Works, and an excellent Commissioner of Agriculture.

The first Speaker of the House, JOHN STEVENSON, Esq., of Lennox, was elected by acclamation, and occupied with credit the position to which he had been called. He was directed as to his course in the chair by a resolution of the House which declared, "That the Rules, Orders and Forms of Proceedings of the House of Commons of Canada be, and until altered, the Rules, Orders and Proceedings of this House, as far as practicable." In addition to this guidance, he benefited further by the advice of Premier Macdonald, who had acted as Speaker in the Parliament of Canada. Mr. Speaker Stevenson had before him the task of giving decisions which served to place upon the Records of the House interpretations of the law of Parliament, and which, even now, are a guide to the head of the Legislative Assembly, and his decisions on points arising in debate, on several important occasions, were such as won for him the concurrence of leading men upon both sides of the House.

The returns from the first general election in Ontario

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showed that 82 members had been elected. The political standing of some members was not altogether a certain quantity, but the first division, on a Municipal Law amendment, showed 45 voting with the Government and 28 against it. The first division, on a matter of general public interest, was on a resolution proposed by Mr. McKellar, 26th February, 1868, to the effect that any subject of Her Majesty, 21 years of age, deriving an income from his calling of not less than \$600 per annum, and having a month's residence in a municipality before an election, should be entitled to vote at any election in that municipality. This proposition was opposed by the Government and defeated by a vote of 47 to 27. It may be interesting to record the names of the members voting on the first question really of a controversial character:

YEAS.—Barber, Baxter, Blake, Boyd, Christie, Clemens, Crosby, Evans, Ferrier, Finlayson, Galbraith, Gibbons, Gow, Graham (Hastings), McDougall, McKellar, McKim, McLeod, McMurrich, Paxton, Pardee, Smith (Middlesex), Springer, Trow, Williams (Hamilton),—27.

NAYS.—Beattie, Boulton, Cameron, Carling, Carnegie, Clarke, Cockburn, Colquhoun, Cook, Craig (Glen-garry), Craig (Russell), Cumberland, Currie, Eyre, Ferguson, Fitzsimmons, Graham (York), Greely, Hooper, Lauder, Lount, Luton, Lyon, Macdonald, Matchett, Monteith, McCall (Norfolk), McColl (Elgin), McGill, Oliver, Read, Richards, Rykert, Scott (Ottawa), Scott (Grey), Secord, Sexton, Shaw, Sinclair, Strange, Tett, Tupples, Wallis, Wigle, Williams (Durham), Wilson, Wood,—47.

In those days, as now, the Address was moved by a supporter of the Government, duly seconded by a col-

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league, and made to repeat the Speech from the Throne in slavish obedience to its phraseology. The paragraphs of the reply were duly numbered, and separately put from the chair, when they were subject to a nominal second reading, and nominally submitted to a Special Committee. This committee reported the Address intact, and it was ordered to be "presented to His Excellency by such members of the House as are of the Executive Council of the Province." This routine having been duly performed, the House adjourned to the 8th of January, 1868.

On reassembling an alphabetical list of the members of the Legislative Assembly was brought down, and read as follows:

Barber, W.; Baxter, Dr. J.; Beatty, W.; Blake, Edward; Boulter, G. H.; Boyd, J.; Cameron, Hon. M. C.; Carling, Hon. J.; Carnegie, J.; Christie, R.; Clark, M.; Clemens, I.; Cockburn, A. P.; Colquhoun, A.; Cook, Simon; Corby, H.; Coyne, J.; Craig, W.; Crosby, H. P.; Cumberland, F. W.; Currie, N.; Evans, J.; Eyre, J.; Ferguson, J. R.; Ferrier, A. D.; Finlayson, H.; Fitzsimmons, W.; Fraser, A.; Galbraith, D.; Gibbons, R. (election contested); Gow, P.; Graham, R.; Graham, T.; Greely, A.; Hooper, E. J.; Hays, W. T.; Lauder, A. W.; Lount, W.; Luton, D.; Lyon, R.; Macdonald, Hon. J. S.; Matchett, T.; Monteith, A.; McCall, T.; McColl, Nicol; McDougall, J. L.; McGill, Dr.; McKellar, A.; McKim, R.; McLeod, I.; McMurrich, Hon. J.; Oliver, A.; Pardee, T. B.; Paxton, Thomas; Perry, G.; Read, G.; Richards, Hon. S.; Rykert, J. C.; Scott, J.; Scott, R. W.; Secord, J.; Sexton, W.; Shaw, W. M.; Sinclair, D.; Smith, J.; Smith, Sir H. D.; Smith, J.; Stevenson, J. (Speaker); Strange, M. W.; Springer, M.; Supple, J.; Swinarton, J.; Tett,

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B.; Trow, J.; Wallis, J.; Wilson, J. M.; Wigle, S.; Williams, A. T. H.; Williams, J. M.; Wilson, J.; Wood, Hon. E. B.

And being thus fairly enlightened as to "who was who," the House got down to business and introduced a bill respecting Justices of the Peace. Another bill was introduced for fixing the license fee to be paid to the province by tavern-keepers, over and above all other fees; another for the formation of a Consolidated Revenue Fund; and another authorizing the publication of an *Ontario Gazette*. A division, not altogether political, took place over a motion, by Mr. McKellar, that the House do not go into committee on resolutions respecting formation of Consolidated Fund until the estimates have been brought in. Yeas, 26; nays, 51.

The right to present petitions was not neglected, and the temperance people were early in the field with a "grist" of them praying that the Licensed Victuallers be not granted a charter. Petitions asking aid, which still come in various insinuating forms, only to be ruthlessly rejected, were then sometimes "read and received," and a reverend gentleman came boldly into the open as an office-seeker, and petitioned for an appointment as librarian.

The matters specially noted here give some idea of the work of the Ontario Legislative Assembly during its first session. It was devoted to organization and ended with the now familiar announcement, that His Honor—then, and for some years, styled His "Excellency"—thanked Her Majesty's subjects—her dutiful and loyal subjects—for this proof of their benevolence. It is noteworthy that, at the close of the second session, the word "dutiful" was omitted, although re-inserted in the Journal of the year 1869, and since continued, the

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dutiful representatives once more announcing their duty as ahead of their loyalty.

There are not wanting evidences of the readiness of the Opposition to take advantage of any opportunity to force the hand of the Government. and an illustration of this was given on the last day of the session, when Mr. McKellar moved that an address be presented to His Excellency praying him to recommend an appropriation of \$4,000 to Isabella Mackenzie, widow of the late Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, for her sole use and benefit. Yeas, 35; Nays, 31. The only member of the Government supporting the motion was Mr. Richards, and the Premier does not appear to have voted, although he moved the adjournment almost immediately after. There are few occasions when a private member may move towards advising the expenditure of public money, and the hand of a skilled parliamentarian is here revealed.

SIR HENRY SMITH, who represented Frontenac, and was the only titled private member the House has known, died during the recess. He possessed a large fund of parliamentary knowledge, and had been Speaker in the Canada Parliament. His death was doubtless a loss to his constituency and the province, and he would probably have risen to a share in Government control had he lived. One of the eccentrics of the early days of the Ontario Parliament, DELINO DEXTER CALVIN, was sent to fill the vacant position. A New Englander by birth, he had many of the ideas of a peculiar people, and when he rose to address the House he did not speak to empty benches. He had the old English pronunciation, still preserved in his native State, and the manner in which he snapped his fingers at the nearest page, and said to him in authoritative tones, "Boy! bring me

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some *watter*," invariably insured a round of restrained applause. He was a confirmed "abstainer," and in this respect possessed a sphere of influence, the settlers in the immediate neighborhood of his home religiously following suit. Although a warm supporter of Conservative principles, he gave independent votes, and so asserted his superiority to mere partyism.

The second session of this first Legislature dealt usefully with amendments to the Municipal Act, the Tavern License Act, and the Lines and Watercourses Act—matters which have occupied Upper Canada law-makers since the days of General Simcoe. Even now no session would be up to average requirements which did not, more or less seriously, deal with these subjects. Sheep and dogs held their fair share of public attention, and Provincial Secretary Cameron prepared to wrestle with the Public School Act. A select committee was appointed to inquire into and report upon the usefulness and cost of wooden railways as a means of furthering the settlement of the country. Disputed elections were still considered by special committees. An Income Franchise Bill was introduced by the Opposition, and the six months' hoist was carried by a vote of 45 to 27. An inquiry was opened up, on motion of Mr. R. Christie, into the endowment and utility of Upper Canada College.

ROBERT CHRISTIE, Esq., was first elected in 1867 for North Wentworth, and again in 1871. He distinguished himself by a bold attack upon the management of Upper Canada College, which he regarded as mismanagement, and succeeded in convincing the people that he had taken a right view of a wrong side of a public question. Upon leaving Parliament he was appointed one of the Inspectors of Public Institutions, and until a recent date was equal to the requirements of the position.

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Mr. Blake introduced a series of resolutions, declaring that the financial arrangements made by the Union Act, as between Canada and the several provinces, ought not to be changed without the consent of the several provinces; and, further, that no such change as effected by the Nova Scotia Act should have been made without a general revision and readjustment of the financial arrangements as between the several provinces; and the said Act is grossly unjust to Ontario. Hon. Mr. Cameron moved a six months' hoist, which was carried on a vote of 42 yeas to 35 nays.

The amount to be paid to members of the House was fixed at a sessional allowance of four hundred and fifty dollars (\$450), and no more, with ten cents per mile from Toronto to their homes, coming and going.

During this session, Mr. Blake moved for an address to Her Majesty, praying that she might be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of removing all color for the assumption by the Parliament of Canada of the power to disturb the financial relations established by the British North America Act (1867), as between Canada and the several provinces. Mr. McNeil Clark, South Grenville, moved in amendment, That all the words after the word "that" be left out and the following be substituted: "It is inexpedient to present any address to Her Majesty the Queen which may be considered as an expression of dissatisfaction at the action of the Imperial Government, or of the Dominion Parliament, taken with a view to allay the disaffection in Nova Scotia."

The amendment was lost. Yeas, 12; nays, 57.

The question was then put. Yeas, 57; nays, 12.

Mr. Blake introduced a bill relating to trial of con-

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troverted elections, and a six months' hoist was carried by 44 to 28.

An unusual vote was recorded during this session. On the third reading of a bill relating to the County Courts' Act, an amendment having been lost on a division, a vote was taken, the result being 70 to 0; which votes were duly recorded on the cry of "Yeas and Nays."

The third session met on 3rd November, 1869, and was mainly distinguished by the fact that Mr. Blake again brought up his resolutions complaining of undue preference displayed towards Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The whole of these were disposed of by the convenient six months' postponement, with the exception of the twelfth paragraph, which asked that Her Majesty be requested to disallow the Nova Scotia Act, which was withdrawn, and the thirteenth, which was carried by a vote of 64 yeas to 12 nays; and it was as follows:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this House the interests of the country require such legislation as may remove all color for the assumption by the Parliament of Canada of the power to disturb the financial relations established by the Union Act, as between Canada and the several provinces."

On December 6th, 1869, Mr. Blake moved that the participation of members of this House in contracts for supplies to provincial institutions, sustained and controlled through the Executive, will tend to subvert the independence of the House, and should be prohibited, when an amendment was moved, and carried, declaring that in the opinion of this House the independence of the House and the public interests are sufficiently pro-

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tected by the Act to secure the independence of the Legislative Assembly.

On the same day, Mr. Blake moved that the selection of sites for provincial institutions established by the Legislature should be made solely in the public interest, and should not be, to any extent, dependent on favor, or on the political opinions prevalent in the locality, and that to make it so dependent will tend to impair public morality, and to subvert the independence of this House.

It was moved in amendment by Attorney-General Macdonald, "That this House, recognizing the judicious selection of the several sites on which the Government have caused to be erected the provincial institutions, for which appropriations have been made by the Legislature, is of opinion that there is not any cause shown to justify doubt that similar prudence in respect to future selections of sites will not fail to be observed." Yeas, 38; nays. 22.

On the 21st December, on a resolution respecting the Asylum for the Blind, Mr. Boyd moved that the House, while willing and anxious to make suitable provisions for the relief of the indigent blind, is of the opinion that estimates of the probable cost of the proposed asylum, according to approved plans, should be submitted to this House, before it is called upon to vote \$75,000 in respect thereof. Yeas, 23; nays, 49. An amendment was then proposed, and voted down by 53 to 22, that it was expedient the asylum should be erected at Hamilton.

On a resolution respecting surveys and drainage of swamp lands, it was moved by Mr. Boyd that the resolution be referred back to the Committee of Supply, for the purpose of specifying certain localities and improvements to which, or some of which, the sum of \$200,000 mentioned therein shall be applied, so as not to leave so

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large a sum of money to be expended at the mere will of the Executive, without a previous vote appropriating the same, as far as possible, to particular works. This was voted down by 49 to 24, the vote being of a strictly party character.

Several divisions upon assessment and other municipal matters were called, but were not confined to partisan expressions of opinion.

Some of the most severe fights of the session turned upon points affecting rival railways.

The question of exemption from taxation of the dwelling houses of ministers of religion was raised, but the proposal was voted down.

The irregularity, and certainly the inexpedience, of admitting petitions "asking aid" had been discovered, and during this session we find declared "out of order" a petition for a grant for the construction of a ship canal between lakes Huron and Ontario—a project still unrealized and still agitated.

Looking over the votes of these early sessions, one finds perhaps less independence than the circumstances of a body newly-organized might warrant. Men soon ranged themselves on one side or the other, and in matters of moment found it safer to follow their leaders. The zeal of some of these neophytes, too, was less intense than might have been expected. There seems to have been considerable abstention from voting, and, presumably, from the House. There was a new system, but men were and still remain the same. Precisely what constitutes an ideal private member is a question about which there may be difference of opinion. One man's view, frankly and emphatically stated to me, I can give. Speaking to Hon. E. B. Wood, in the early days of the second Parliament, I remarked that the House was to

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be congratulated on the brainy character of many of the representatives. "Brains!" said E. B. "What do we want with brains? What we want is votes."

As the life of the Parliament waned the Opposition gained in effectiveness, and followed up every advantage with an activity, earnestness and vitality which were beginning to tell upon the strength of the governing power. As an evidence of the petulance observable in the leader of the House, it was ordered, on motion of Mr. Smith (Leeds), and seconded by Mr. Calvin, "That the report or statement in the *Globe* newspaper of the 10th inst., purporting to be a statement made in this House by the member for South Bruce (Mr. Blake), reflecting upon the truth or veracity of the member for South Grey, be now read." Mr. Blake was reported to have said, "I don't believe the hon. gentleman's word is worth anything." This statement was read by the Clerk, and that was the end of the episode. Even pistols and coffee were not required, and to this day nobody knows why such serious notice of so small an affair found its way into parliamentary journals.

The surplus resulting from the Premier's system of rigid economy naturally entered largely into the composition of the Speech from the Throne, and was flauntingly held in the faces of the Opposition. It was a boomerang of fatal force, however, and served but to call attention to the supposition that the accumulated hoard was intended as a temporary bait, to certain constituencies unmentioned, at the cost of others studiously unknown. It was intended by the Premier that the money should be used to aid in the construction of needed railroads and the erection of several public institutions. He could not, he thought, safely tell an expectant public where the promised expenditure would

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be made, and the Opposition naturally sought to force his hand. His blood was up. He would not be driven into an exposure of his cards. He had the means by which to satisfy some sections of the community, and he hoped, by adroit use of this fact, to secure large support, in expectant quarters, from men who had "axes to grind." That argument cut both ways, and there was a general uneasiness as to the precise localities to be benefited by the grant and expenditure of public funds.

Every day of the last session was devoted to platform building. The electorate was being educated to the conviction that it was unsafe to vote moneys *en bloc*, at the dictation of any Government whatever, and the results of the votes taken were proof of the uneasiness of the circle of Government supporters, who began to look to personal security rather than the maintenance of certain men in power.

The Assembly met on December 7th, 1870, and sat until February 15th, 1871, with an adjournment from December 22nd until the 4th of January, during the holiday season of 1871, resuming its labors at that date. It had spent forty-six days in actual sessional work, and much time was occupied with still further consideration than was given in the preceding session to the policy propounded by the Liberal Opposition.

Meanwhile the country, which at one time had faith in a coalition, began to see that the system might be bought at too high a price, that it was inimical to rapid progress, that under a British constitutional form of government it was next to impossible to make it fully harmonize with the principles of responsible government, and that it was simply Conservatism under another name. It had just been seen in one of its worst forms in its opposition to the popular will when the money of the

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State was voted *en bloc* to enterprises of which the Government had information of merely vague character, and the House none. The electorate had been forced into acquiescence with railway schemes, possibly good, more probably bad, and objected to such expenditure of public funds. The mirage which had existed in 1867 had passed away. The continuous blows dealt by Blake and his confreres began to tell. The conviction was daily growing that the combination between Sir John and John Sandfield had failed in its object. There was a widening rift in the lute. Reformers who had supported the coalition became suspicious of its staying powers. They felt that the attempt to bring about "a permanent union of moderate men of both parties" was not a success, and the same feeling spread among the large mass of Conservative voters, who still clung to their old gods.

No man saw this more clearly than the chieftain of the Dominion Conservatives, who, attending the negotiations at Washington, was fully occupied with questions of still greater importance than that of the possible, although improbable, control of Sandfield Macdonald. The brusqueries of the Ontario Premier, his discourteous reception of delegates, his insinuation that his visitors had "axes to grind," the query as to what Strathroy had done for him, and similar indiscretions, at once became public property, and supplied his opponents with a slogan which was heard through the coming elections, not far distant. The canvass was an active one upon both sides, and the eloquence of Edward Blake was never more effective, while Alexander Mackenzie, and many others of smaller calibre, probably, did yeomen's service. The Reform party came to the front in old form and fully united once more, while the Conservatives worked with a vigor which, had it been

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unitedly opposed to the mock coalition, would have probably brought about a thorough resuscitation of their strength and power.

The elections came off with a promptitude which surprised many and caught some unprepared. The roads were heavy in northern sections, and it was predicted that this would materially reduce the general vote. The expectation was unfounded. Electors turned out with alacrity, and the large vote cast was a true indication of the popular feeling.

The result of the polls in this general election was probably not up to Reform expectations, and was certainly not equal to that confidently expected by Conservatives. The *Globe* summary of the whole vote cast gave as a result: Pronounced supporters of Sandfield Macdonald, 32; Opposition (Blake) Reformers, 41; Independents, 7, with Algoma and Addington to hear from, 2. Total, 82.

Under any circumstances the Blake Reformers had a distinct tie in the vote with combined Macdonaldites and Independents. The critical vote in the new Parliament, which virtually declared the fate of the Macdonald Government, with the Speaker in the chair and practically a full House, gave 42 votes to Blake and 40 to Macdonald. There was a conviction in Conservative circles that John Sandfield had not only unnecessarily hurried the elections, but that his subordinates had mismanaged them. That Sir John A. Macdonald entertained this view, and feared the result of the hurried appeal, is evident from the following quotation from Mr. Pope's "Memoirs of Sir John." He says:

"On his return to Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald did his utmost to retrieve the errors that the Ontario Premier had committed, but, whether owing to his

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feeble health, or his constitutional obstinacy, the Ontario leader could not be induced to take advice. He would not believe that he, who had been such a faithful steward of the people of Ontario, could run any danger of defeat at the hands of their representatives. Sir John A. Macdonald, with longer experience of parliamentary majorities, and greater knowledge of human nature, was not so sanguine. In June he wrote: 'I hope nothing will happen to Sandfield or his Government. I am vain enough to think that if I were in his place just now, and had his cards, I could carry him through the first three weeks of the session—wherein alone there is any danger.'"

A few days after Sandfield's defeat, Sir John wrote to a member of the defeated Cabinet, and said: "I need scarcely say that I look upon the defeat of Sandfield's administration as a most unfortunate event, of which one cannot see the result. There is no use in crying over spilt milk, but it is vexatious to see how Sandfield threw away his chances. He has handed over the surplus, which he had not the pluck to use, to his opponents, and although I pressed him, on my return from Washington, to make a President of the Council and a Minister of Education, which he had promised to do, yet he took no steps towards doing so. With these two offices and that of the Solicitor-General and the Speakership he had the game in his own hands. You see that, as I prophesied would be the case, the first act of the new Government was to increase the Cabinet."

Such was the outcome of the elections as seen by John A. Macdonald, and after events proved him to be correct.

It may be interesting to here write briefly of some of

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the men whose names and faces and characteristics are recalled in writing of Ontario's first Legislature:

JOHN COYNE, Esq., who represented the constituency of Peel, was in the House in the first and again in the second Legislative Assembly. His remarks were tersely put, with a dash of sarcasm making them acceptable to friends and remarkably disagreeable to opponents. His abilities promised him success in political life, but disease of spine or lungs carried him to a comparatively early grave.

LIEUT.-COL. H. T. WILLIAMS, member for East Durham, and a supporter of Hon. J. S. Macdonald, was respected by all who knew him. He did not distinguish himself as a law-maker, but was a partisan without the objectionable features of many partisans. At the time of the second Riel Rebellion in the North-West he went to the front in command of his regiment, and died from an attack of typhoid fever.

WILLIAM BARBER, of Halton, was a representative of the constituency in which, like nearly all local members, he lived, and was a strong supporter of J. S. Macdonald, more probably from a warm attachment to the man than to his policy. He was re-elected in 1871 and 1875, and remained in the Legislature until succeeded by Wm. Kerns, a Conservative, in 1884.

THOMAS MURRAY, Esq., was elected member for Renfrew in 1869, and so sat in the first Ontario Legislature. He was extensively engaged in lumbering in the east and north of the province, was regarded as a man of large experience in matters affecting our timber lands, and was a fair speaker, whose opinions and practical knowledge in his own special line were highly valued. His parliamentary career was somewhat erratic, although he was strictly a party man.

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LIEUT.-COL. CUMBERLAND was the first representative in the Ontario Legislature of the constituency of Algoma, then an almost unknown wilderness. At his second election he was opposed by LIEUT.-COL. G. T. DENISON, the well-known Police Magistrate of Toronto, and this young military sprig almost defeated his senior. The audacity of the plucky upstart astounded the manager of the Northern, but all's well that ends well, and the best after-dinner speaker in the House was saved to the province to instruct and amuse until the end of the second Legislature.

HON. TIMOTHY BLAIR PARDEE was a member of the first Ontario Legislative Assembly, and one of the most active adherents to the maintenance of what he regarded as Reform principles. If not obstinate—and he was that under justifiable circumstances—he could not and would not yield to the prospects of office, had that involved any desertion of principle. Appointed a member of Hon. Oliver Mowat's first Cabinet, he soon became figuratively the Premier's right hand. Honest in intention, cautious in action, wise in counsel, attentive to his duties, ruler in his own office, cool in argument and always listened to with appreciation and interest, he was admirably fitted to be the trusted colleague of Oliver Mowat. Both men assimilated in thought and character. Neither cared to inflict unnecessary pain in saying "No." Both had respect for the feelings of others, but Mr. Pardee managed refusals as successfully as Sir John A. Macdonald, and perhaps more genuinely. I am sure that he never made an enemy of one to whom he felt compelled to refuse a favor, for all believed that he would if he could and would not when he felt that he could not. As Chairman of the Private Bills Committee and Commissioner of Crown Lands, he was con-

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stantly placed in opposition to interested applicants who wished for that which they scarcely hoped to receive. He was not often aroused to fighting pitch, but when he attained it the House knew it. Ill-health shortened Mr. Pardee's career, and the loss to the public in his death was no common one.

HUGH FINLAYSON, Esq., was remarkable for his fidelity to his trust as member for North Brant, which he served faithfully until he was succeeded by Hon. James Young in 1880. He was not a loud talker, but was attentive to his duties and had the respect of every member. When the House was in session he was invariably in his seat. Upon a division his whereabouts was never uncertain, and his six feet four of humanity rose steadily to the call of the Speaker at the familiar command, "Members will please rise."

DONALD SINCLAIR, Esq., was one of the charter members, and a man of more than ordinary intelligence. His voice was heard when he thought plain speech necessary, and the character of his remarks indicated the well-read man whose opinion was not merely partisan. He represented North Bruce for several Legislatures, and was exceedingly popular in his constituency, and was fortunate in securing a fair sprinkling of Conservative votes. His acceptance of the Registry Office in Walkerton was viewed with satisfaction by both parties.

MOSES SPRINGER, Esq., was the representative of North Waterloo in the first Parliament and for many years later, and after his retirement from politics became sheriff of his native county. He was as warm-hearted as he was full of frolic, and had friends everywhere. He was a typical man of the people, and was never without a good story or a jocular remark for all whom he encountered. His *bonhomie* was remarkable, and yet

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he was as shrewd as he was funny, could drive a horse-trade with the acuteness of a David Harum, and do a good act as promptly as he could close a good bargain. In Waterloo he was an authority on insurance, and much of the prosperity of the thriving local company is the result of his suggestions. He was always a warm supporter of the leaders of the political party with which he was in sympathy, and there was no man upon whom Premier Mowat more certainly relied.

ISAAC CLEMENS, Esq., who came into the Legislature from South Waterloo along with Moses Springer, was of a less pronounced type, and not so prominent politically, but he was a faithful representative, and possessed all the best qualities of his versatile colleague.

THOMAS SCOTT, Esq., member for North Grey, was in the first, second and third Legislatures, and was so unfortunate as to be unseated because he had recklessly or thoughtlessly given to a thirsty elector a glass of ale or some other trifling inducement, and had to pay the penalty of an application of the strict letter of the law.

DANIEL GALBRAITH, Esq., member for Lanark, was a conspicuous representative in the first Legislature, possessed the confidence of Edward Blake to a remarkable extent, and was a keen Reformer, not to be surpassed in his devotion to his principles. His career was cut short by a fatal accident, a fall from a wagon, and all who intimately knew him and his sturdy support of what he regarded as right felt that the loss was a provincial one.

ROBERT MCKIM, Esq., was one of the charter members of the Ontario Legislature, and occupied a seat in the first and second Parliaments, when he retired for a time to unsuccessfully contest Centre Wellington for the House of Commons. Later he returned to his first allegiance, and was elected for the Local House in 1880 and 1884.

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He was a man of shrewd wit, and was one of the best "stumpers" ever found upon a platform. He was not a violent air-beater, but proceeded quietly, and yet with effective elucidation of the question before his audience. He was strong in repartee, as a too venturesome opponent speedily discovered, and carried his hearers with him in nearly every attack made upon him. He was a born politician, and was as strong holding the buttonhole of an elector as when addressing an excited crowd. Financial difficulties clouded the closing years of his political life, and the attempt to impugn his veracity in the affair of the "Brawling Brood of Bribers" was a further embittering circumstance. For some years before his death Mr. McKim was sheriff of Wellington County.

THOMAS PAXTON, Esq., a Reformer, represented North Ontario in the first Provincial Legislature, and so shares the distinction of being a charter member. He was largely engaged in lumbering in and beyond his constituency, and was highly successful in his business ventures. He spoke energetically when addressing the Chamber, and was popular with his fellow-members.

JACOB BAXTER, Esq., was for several years the sole remaining charter member of the House, and was a faithful guardian of public interests during the whole period spent in the service of the people, and although he seldom spoke, always possessed settled opinions, which were valued and listened to with interest by those to whom they were expressed. Unanimously elected to the Speakership of the House in February, 1887, he occupied the chair during the sixth Legislature, and gave impartial and satisfactory decisions. He continued in the House as a private member until succeeded by Jose W. Holmes, Esq., in 1903, having served the constituency of Haldimand for more than a quarter of a

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century. Few men have had such a record in any legislative body in America.

JAMES M. WILLIAMS, Esq., member for Hamilton, entered the Legislature in 1867, and occupied a seat therein for many years. He was one of the most efficient whips ever entrusted with the arduous work inseparable from the position, and had that happy manner which accompanies the glad hand, and a knowledge of men so essential to him who would control them.

GEORGE PERRY, Esq., of North Oxford, was a modest man when he first went into the Assembly in 1867, although his silence did not cover any want of ability to express his opinions. His opportunity came to him, as it does to all men who patiently wait for it. A new school bill was introduced by the Provincial Secretary, and Perry had been a teacher. He spoke on the bill generally, and his remarks were received with applause. The committee stage was reached, and there you can run on like a brook. Perry did more, for he ran on like a schoolmaster, and it was solemnly asserted by men who heard him that he made thirteen distinct speeches before he let the House escape from him. And, strange to say, he was reported to have spoken common-sense every time, and had given thirteen consecutive exhibitions of a man able to keep the attention of an audience. Let that be as it may, he was looked upon as a Grit with ideas, and with one very prominent, when he determined to retire from the representation of North Oxford and assist in placing in it Premier Mowat. Nobody censured the voluble member who walked from the Legislative Assembly to the seat of the sheriff in Woodstock.

W. T. HAYS, Esq., was a charter member, and represented North Huron in 1867. He was one of the good-natured souls whom everybody likes, and was full

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of stories of the smoking-room stripe, which set small crowds in a roar. He was a warm supporter of John Sandfield, and fairly earned the registrarship which was awarded to him.

KETCHUM GRAHAM, Esq., from Hastings West, a charter member, elected in 1867, was re-elected in 1871, but afterwards found it more satisfactory and profitable to look after the cheese interests of Hastings and adjoining counties. He was a welcome speaker, for he had originality and wit, and was a general favorite.

ROBERT GIBBONS, Esq., sat for South Huron in 1867 and was a charter member who had been warden of his county. He was re-elected in 1871, and was later on appointed to the shrievalty of Huron, and was found to be an efficient official.

JAMES TROW, Esq., sat for South Perth in 1867, a charter member with pronounced Reform views. He was defeated in 1871 for the Legislature, but was elected to the Commons at the general election in 1872. He was a Welshman by birth, and, therefore, naturally a Reformer. He was an acceptable speaker, and was always listened to with the conviction on the part of his hearers that he was a man of originality and broad views.

HENRY CORBY, Esq., represented East Hastings in the first Legislature. His excellent business ability made him a valuable committee man, full of suggestions, and his advice was always of weight with his leader, John Sandfield Macdonald. He was a Conservative of the old school, but supported John Sandfield first and always.

JOHN THOMAS GRANGE, Esq., from Lennox, mentioned elsewhere, entered the Legislature in 1871 as successor to John Stevenson, Esq., the first Speaker, and having evidently a difficult constituency to represent, could

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not be described as a party man, and certainly was not a partisan. He was one of the men whom any whip finds difficult to manage, voting with equal facility for "yea" or "nay," and who see no use in party organization and regard responsible government as a will-o'-the-wisp, and ministerial consistency as an impalpable myth. You find some such rarity in every legislative body.

WILLIAM SEXTON, Esq., was an early Reformer, and never abandoned his principles. He was a fair speaker, and sat in the House as member for South Wentworth during the term of three Legislative Assemblies.

JAMES CRAIG, Esq., representing one of the most noted eastern constituencies—Glengarry—had a warm personal friendship for Hon. J. S. Macdonald, and remained true to him until his retirement from the Premiership. Both were supporters of Liberalism, and upon the death of John S. Macdonald, Mr. Craig enlisted himself under the banner of Mr. Blake, and supported his policy so long as he remained in the Legislature.

CHAPTER XVI.

A DEFEAT AND DEBACLE.

Hon. R. W. Scott the new Speaker—His after career—The Speech—Address amended by Government—Mr. Mackenzie's amendment—John Sandfield—The crisis—A close count—The majority for Opposition—Premier wants time—The Lieutenant-Governor's opinion—Mr. Blake's resolutions—An unanswerable statement—Another card played—The Premier's speech—John Sandfield addresses the House—Grand Duke Alexis—Scene between Premier and Mr. Speaker—New Ministry formed—House adjourned to 18th January—House reassembled—A working majority—Every vacancy filled—Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, Provincial Secretary—Next day Treasurer—Mr. McKellar, Commissioner of Agriculture—Hon. Adam Crooks, Attorney-General, afterwards Provincial Treasurer—Peter Gow, Provincial Secretary—Redemption of pledges—Thomas Scott—Select committee—Blake and Wood positively deny Cameron's charge—Committee unanimous in exoneration—The march of the Cameron men—Increase of Cabinet—A seat in both Houses—Rykert takes lofty ground—Second meeting—New faces—Oliver Mowat.

THE House did not meet until the 7th of December, 1871, but no progress had been really made in the way of bringing additional strength to the ministerial support. Controverted election trials had been held, and left the contending parties much as they were. The large majority of the first Parliament had vanished, and in its place was a divided band of Conservative and Reform coalitionists.

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HON. R. W. SCOTT, of Ottawa, a supporter of Sandfield Macdonald, who was justly popular with both parties, and whose parliamentary career had been without spot or blemish, was unanimously elected Speaker. A better choice could not have been made. While noted for his integrity, Mr. Scott was the possessor of parliamentary knowledge which was unexcelled by that of any man in either the Dominion or the Provincial House. He was soon after called to the control of the Crown Lands Department, and was as successful in one position as the other. His after career was positive and incontrovertible evidence of his official usefulness and capacity.

The address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved by Mr. Deroche, and seconded by Mr. Macdonald, of Leeds. It congratulated His Excellency upon the prosperity of the country, and regretted that the province of Quebec declined to give effect to the result of the arbitration between it and Ontario, and declared that the fact that the objection to the award should be urged on mainly technical grounds was a consideration that intensified the feeling of regret. Allusion was made to the question of education, and the provision for a new school of technology shortly to be opened. Immigration and free grants and the operations in progress for the establishment of a school of agriculture were spoken of. The tenth paragraph dealt with the questions of drainage and law reform, and the payment of witnesses attending the trials of criminals received attention.

When the first paragraph of the proposed Address had been read, Mr. Blake moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. Pardee, that the following words be added to the first paragraph: "But we feel bound to take the earliest opportunity of informing your Excellency that we regret

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the course taken by the Legislative Assembly last session, under the guidance of your present ministers, in reference to the large powers given to the Executive as to the disposition of the Railway Aid Fund, and to state that, in our opinion, the proposal of the Government to grant aid to any railway should be submitted to the approval or rejection of the Legislative Assembly, so as not to leave so large a sum as \$1,500,000 at the disposal of the Executive without a vote of this House appropriating the same to particular works."

On the following day Mr. McColl moved, in amendment to the proposed amendment, seconded by Mr. Graham, that the following words be added to the proposed amendment: "That, inasmuch as one-tenth of the constituencies of this province remain at this time unrepresented in this House, by reason of six of the members elected at the last election having had their elections declared void, and a seventh having become vacant by reason of a double return, and an eighth by reason of the resignation of the member elected thereto, it is inexpedient further to consider the question involved in the said amendment, until the said constituencies are duly represented on the floor of this House."

After midnight, Mr. Boulter moved, for the purpose of preventing any further amendment at that stage, seconded by Mr. Graham, "That this House do now adjourn," and the motion having been put, was lost on a division. Yeas, 34; Nays, 36.

The debate was then adjourned, after which the House adjourned.

On the resumption of the debate, on the 13th, Mr. S. C. Wood (Victoria) moved that all words in the proposed amendment, after "Fund," be left out, and that the following words be substituted therefor: "but inas-

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much as many railway companies have already acted under the provisions of the Act in Aid of Railways, of last session, it is inexpedient to disturb its provisions, except by such carefully considered amendments as would secure improved control over the expenditure, and at the same time not interfere with the interests created under the existing statute; and that railways hereafter to be constructed in pursuance of the terms of the said Act should have similar claims on the Railway Aid Fund as those now being built."

On the 14th, Mr. Wood's amendment was put and lost by 40 to 33. The first paragraph of the proposed Address was then read as amended. when Mr. Mackenzie moved, seconded by Mr. McKellar, that the following words be added to the first paragraph as amended: "And we inform your Excellency that we have no confidence in a ministry which is attempting to carry out, in reference to the control of the said fund of \$1,500,000, an usurpation fraught with danger to public liberty and constitutional government."

On the 15th, Mr. Macdonald (Leeds) moved, in amendment to the proposed amendment, "That inasmuch as one-tenth of the constituencies of this province remain at this time unrepresented in this House, by reason of six of the members returned at the last election having had their election declared void, and a seventh seat having become vacant by reason of a double return, and an eighth by reason of the resignation of a member elected thereto, and that inasmuch as the Government has declared that the Railway Fund is intact, and that it will not, in consideration of the opinion expressed in this House in passing the said amendment, make any appropriation from the said fund without the same having been first submitted to Parliament, it is inexpedient

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and unfair to consider any motion declaring want of confidence in your Excellency's present advisers until the said constituencies are duly represented in this House."

Mr. Speaker declared that the motion was, in purport, identical with one on which during the debate the House had expressed its opinion, and that it would be irregular now again to submit this motion.

Mr. Mackenzie's amendment was carried by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Barber, Baxter, Blake, Christie, Clarke (Wellington), Clarke (Norfolk), Clemens, Cook, Crooks, Crosby, Currie, Dawson, Fairbairn, Farewell, Finlayson, Galbraith, Gibbons, Gibson, Gow, Hodgins, Mackenzie, McKellar, McKim, Oliver, Pardee, Patterson, Paxton, Perry, Prince, Robinson, Sexton, Sinclair, Smith, Springer, Webb, Williams (Hamilton), Wilson, —37.

NAYS.—Boulter, Boulton, Calvin, Cameron, Carling, Clarke (Grenville), Code, Corby, Coyne, Craig (Glen-garry), Cumberland, Deacon, Deroche, Ferguson, Fitzsimmons, Graham, Grange, Guest, Harrington, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Leeds), McCall, McCallum, McManus, McRae, Merrick, Monteith, Richards, Rykert, Scott, Tooley, Williams (Durham), Wood (Brant), Wood (Victoria),—36.

Such is the bare semi-official record of a wordy war extending over several days, and which had developed unexpected debating power and a wide knowledge of the main question under debate. That the Reform party had gained not only numerically but oratorically was evident to every listener familiar with the proceedings of the House. The crowds each day filling the narrow galleries gave life to a chamber far

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too small to accommodate the hundreds who desired to witness the struggle between Blake, Mackenzie, Currie, Crooks, McKellar, Pardee and others, on the one side, and Cameron, Macdonald, Cumberland, Coyne and Rykert on the other. The debate and the press reports and discussion were even a greater education of the electorate than the hurry-scurry literature and high-bouderism of an election campaign could afford. Blake was in his prime, physically and mentally, and J. S. Macdonald, although suffering severely from the disease which terminated his life, marshalled his forces with skill, and fought courageously. Alexander Mackenzie never spoke with greater effect, clearness, vigor and high resolve. Matthew C. Cameron, with incisive periods, clear argument and forensic skill, battled keenly to the end, and foremost men on either side gave valuable assistance, some of the supporters of John Sandfield fighting, doubtless, as much for their leader as for a cause. In addition to the large crowds filling the galleries, ladies invaded the floor of the House, and the Speaker's steps were occupied. There was not an empty inch of available space. Upon the whole, probably, the sympathies of the "strangers" were with the Government. Toronto had two representatives in the five occupants of Cabinet seats, and Toronto was always more or less Conservative. It was known throughout the city on the 15th that a crisis would be reached before midnight. It came. The vote was taken on Mr. Mackenzie's amendment, as already recorded. All waited anxiously during the few minutes necessary to verify the names of the members. Then the Clerk read out distinctly, "Yeas, thirty-seven; Nays, thirty-six," and the Speaker declared that the amendment had carried. It was plain that the end had come. Struggle as he

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might, John Sandfield could not override a vote of want of confidence. Midnight had passed, but it was determined to complete the work so far done, and the Address, with its amended first paragraph, was adopted, the fourteen paragraphs of which it was composed being severally put and agreed to on a division which resulted in a vote of 64 yeas to 6 nays, the ministers of necessity voting to their own confounding, and the six irreconcilables being Messrs. Boulter, Craig (Russell), Fitzsimmons, Merrick, Rykert, and Scott (Grey).

The Address was engrossed, and ordered to be presented to Lieut.-Governor Howland "by such members of the House as are of the Executive Council," thus placing the Government in the unhappy position of having to inform His Excellency that the House had lost confidence in his advisers.

Sandfield Macdonald, still hesitating as to the course to be pursued by him, was reluctant to resign until the pending controverted election trials had been determined, and on Monday, the 18th of December, he delivered to Mr. Speaker a message from His Excellency which contained the following paragraph: "With reference to that portion of the answer to the Speech which expresses the disapproval by the Legislative Assembly of the large powers given to the Executive under an Act passed by the last Legislature, appropriating a million and a half of dollars in aid of railways, and in which I am informed that the House has no confidence in a Ministry which is attempting to carry out, in reference to the control of the said appropriation, an usurpation fraught with danger to public liberty and constitutional government, I have to observe that no action has been taken by my advisers in regard to the disposition of any portion of the said fund, except in accordance with the

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powers vested in them by virtue of the Act referred to, and that I will give every constitutional consideration to any bill that may be presented for my sanction, either repealing or amending the said bill."

But the House was in no humor for temporizing, and Mr. Blake moved, seconded by Mr. Mackenzie:

"That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, representing: That this House has received His Excellency's gracious reply to the Address of this House adopted on Friday last.

"That this House was invited by His Excellency's ministers to consider the gracious Speech of His Excellency, delivered at the opening of the session, and to proceed with the work of the Assembly, notwithstanding that some of the constituencies were unrepresented.

"That this House was thus declared to be, as it in fact was, and is, competent in its present state to deal with all questions which might be brought before it.

"That the discussion of the proposed Address in reply to His Excellency's gracious Speech involved the question of the approval or condemnation of the policy of ministers, and they themselves, in the course of the debate, challenged an expression of the feeling of this House towards them.

"That the ministers have been defeated in each of the four divisions which have taken place, and have never had control of the House.

"That the ministerial policy, on a most important question, has been condemned and reversed by a decisive vote of this House, which has declared its want of confidence in the ministers.

"That the Provincial Treasurer has, in consequence of the hostile attitude of the House, resigned his office.

"That the continuance in office of the remaining min-

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isters is, under existing circumstances, at variance with the spirit of the Constitution.

“That the supplies voted by this House will lapse on the 31st day of December, inst., and this House would be wanting in its duty if it should not before that time (as was done under like circumstances last year) make provision for the expenditure, under ministers possessing its confidence, of the moneys necessary to carry on the public service until the final estimates for the ensuing year can be voted.

“That this House regrets that the remaining ministers should have advised His Excellency to continue them in office, and humbly prays that His Excellency will be graciously pleased to consider the representations contained in this Address.”

As a clear, concise and unanswerable statement of the situation, this address is perhaps unsurpassable, though possibly the last paragraph might be regarded as somewhat gratuitous.

John Sandfield had one more card to play, and he moved in amendment, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Carling, that “when this House adjourns this day it do stand adjourned till Tuesday, the 9th day of January, 1872.” But the defeat had become a *debâcle*, and the amendment was defeated by 26 to 43, and the original motion carried by 44 to 25, the difference in the majority being due to an eastern member named Grange, who seems to have asserted his independence by voting first on one side and then on the other, regardless of other considerations.

In speaking to his amendment, the Premier went down to the middle desk of the front row on the Government side, in order that his failing voice might more effectively reach his supporters in this his last appeal. His

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evident physical weakness intensified the distressing situation, and there was not a man present who felt other than regret at what was so plainly the approaching end of a useful public life. He spoke at some length in justification of the policy of the Government in regard to railway appropriations, and pleaded for delay, urging that "it would be cruel and treacherous on the part of the Government to resign until the vacant seats were filled, and whilst the Government had every reason to believe that the elections would result in their favor." He then went on to say that they were within two or three days of the time for adjournment for the holidays. He thought the Opposition should be satisfied with the expression of the House already made, and that they should allow the House to adjourn till some time in January, when the elections would be over and they could test the strength of the House fairly. If it should then prove that the Government were in a minority, no man would more gladly resign his place than he would, and in the meantime the Government would do nothing except perform their routine duties; no appointments would be made, and no appropriation of the railway fund would be made.

The answer to this appeal was, as we have said, a vote in the negative of 43 to 26.

Next day, in announcing to the House that the Government had resigned, and would continue to discharge its duties only until His Excellency could form a ministry, John Sandfield addressed the House at some length and with dignity and self-restraint. Referring to his delay in accepting the first want-of-confidence vote as final, he said: "I hope that, notwithstanding what has been said, credit will be given to myself and my colleagues that we did not do as we did because we desired

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to retain office, or for the sake of the emoluments of office, or through any desire to be considered as the only persons worthy of the confidence of the House and the country, but because we believed, as I have said, that there was a duty which devolved upon us to wait till all the constituencies were represented." Then offering his apologies to all whom he might have offended, and granting forgiveness to all who had wronged him, the rather painful scene was brought to a close.

Next day, December 20th, upon assembling, the members were reminded that, while governments might come and governments might go, the amenities of life must still go on, and the Speaker announced that the Grand Duke Alexis (of Russia) would arrive in the city tomorrow, and it was contemplated to give him a reception at the Government House. He had been requested by Mrs. Howland to invite the members of this House, with their wives and families, to meet the Grand Duke at the Government House on the evening of the morrow at 9.30.

Then Mr. Speaker Scott, who had been, he declared, unjustly attacked in the press, rose to refer to the matter, but before he could get further he was vehemently interrupted by Hon. J. S. Macdonald, who contended that the Speaker had no right to speak from the chair of any matter personal to himself. "I say the Speaker is the Speaker for the House, and not for himself. This is the ground I take. We are a demoralized House if we allow the Speaker to rise."

There was a very heated and noisy discussion, and finally Mr. Speaker yielded, and said he would make his justification through the public press.

In a few days the new ministry was formed, and the

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House adjourned to the 18th of January, pending the appeal to the constituencies.

The following are some of the men who had their first experience in the Ontario Legislature at this dramatic hour :

THOMAS GIBSON, Esq., member for many years for North Huron, one of the most honest men who ever filled a seat in the Legislature, was one of a small band who received popular endorsement during many successive parliaments. His style was peculiarly his own, and you knew, when listening to his broad Scots tongue, that he had that to say which was worth hearing, and that he implicitly believed every word he uttered, as did everybody else. He was an intense reader, and if a stranger to the House asked for Thomas Gibson outside of the hours when the House was in session, he was likely to be directed to the library. He was a walking encyclopædia on matters municipal, for he had been a reeve in Huron for many years, and, possessing a remarkably retentive memory, could respond to any question put to him along that line. He had honest objection to the theatre. I persuaded him to hear and see Adelaide Neilson in Juliet, and he left the building declaring that such a performance was a slur upon Shakespeare and profaned his name when his words were used "in sic a manner by sic a woman."

The HON. J. G. CURRIE, a native of Toronto, was born on the 24th of November, 1827. He was elected member of the Legislature of the old Canada Parliament, and sat in it from 1862 to 1865. When Confederation made changes necessary, he offered himself as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, to which he was elected in 1871. He was chosen as Speaker when Mr. Scott entered Mr. Blake's Cabinet,

but resigned before the end of his term. He was fluent, possessed an excellent knowledge of law, and was an authority on parliamentary procedure. He was often invited to deliver public lectures in favor of temperance principles. A "Clear Grit" in political matters, and well up in Canadian politics, he was always acceptable in party meetings, and his reception was invariably cordial. For some years he was Lieut.-Colonel of the 19th Battalion, and was always popular with those under his command.

DR. J. H. WILSON, of East Elgin, was the banner-bearer of the county in which he resided for some years, and his eventual translation to the House of Commons as the Reform member of a somewhat changeable constituency was a fitting climax to a consistent party career. He was a man of intellectual strength, with a sarcastic tongue, but humorous nevertheless, and with a twinkling eye which indicated his love of fun and his willingness to indulge in a free-for-all war of words. He did not spare friend or foe when wigs were on the green.

H. M. DEROCHE, Esq., from Addington, was one of the most promising of the members sent to the second Legislature. He was young, a good talker as well as excellent debater, and had an attractive manner and expression, but like many other young lawyers whose ambition has led them into politics at the expense of a promising practice, he reached the "so far," and did not get beyond it. He had been elected to support John Sandfield, and did his best to uphold a failing cause. When he could not save the man whom he was expected to support, he was one of the first to line up with the party most anxious to maintain a liberal policy. Mr. Deroche fairly earned the legal office in his native county to which he retired.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

M. C. Cameron, leader of Opposition—Sandfield Macdonald's death announced to House—The Address in reply to the Speech, moved by Mr. Caldwell—Abstained from voting because of private interests—Premier Mowat does business—Inebriate Asylum—Mr. Speaker's decisions—A temperance agitation—Selection of Guelph for Model Farm—A keen fight—Geo. H. Boulter—Henry Merrick—Abram Farwell—Mr. Rykert moved against school inspectors in politics—Advances to railway lines—Municipal Loan Fund Bill—A. W. Lauder—Session closed, 23rd March, 1873—House reassembled, third meeting Legislature, 3rd January, 1874—Hon. J. G. Currie resigned Speakership—Rupert Mearse Wells, Esq., appointed—A. S. Hardy moves Address—Threshing machines and accidents—Members of Cabinet under oath—A constitutional question—The Orange Bill—Public hospitals—Thomas R. Ferguson—A fracas—Archibald Bishop—D. J. O'Donoghue—T. M. Daly—Andrew Monteith—Second session of House in same year, 12th November, 1874—Wm. H. Scott—Rykert asks for special committee—Bill to readjust representation—House adjourns, 21st December, 1873—Shortest session since Confederation—Writs for election issued 24th December—Government sustained.

THE House had been adjourned from December to the 18th of January, 1872, and the time of ministers and members had been fully occupied, in the interval, in re-elections, the assumption of departmental duties, and matters of private business.

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The House reassembled at the date previously determined by adjournment, and a record session was promised. It was not long before testing votes were taken upon various points, and they indicated a great change in legislative opinion since the previous month, when a vote, almost a tie, had decided the fate of the late Government. There would evidently be a good working majority, strengthened and made reliable by the result of the appeal to the people, through bye-elections, to fill the various vacancies. Not a single adverse decision had been given by the electorate, and the new Premier, Hon. Edward Blake, had a band of united followers proud to serve under him.

Associated with him was HON. ALEX. MACKENZIE, who represented West Middlesex, and entered the Blake Cabinet as Provincial Secretary. After occupying that position for one day, he was appointed Provincial Treasurer, which office he retained until October, 1872, when, dual representation having been abolished, he chose to serve in the House of Commons. It would be superfluous to speak further of him at this time. The story of his career has inspired many Canadians, and there is no better reading for any schoolboy in the Dominion.

HON. A. MCKELLAR came in as Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, in which department he, as we have already said, did excellent work.

HON. ADAM CROOKS joined the Cabinet as Attorney-General. A year later he became Provincial Treasurer, and subsequently Minister of Education. It is in connection with the Department of Education that he is best remembered.

HON. PETER GOW had been one of the devoted band who, entering the Legislature after the general elections of 1867, persistently fought against the first adminis-

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tration, and when Mr. Blake took office, Mr. Gow was appointed Provincial Secretary. When Mr. Blake withdrew from the Legislature, Mr. Gow sought retirement on account of failing health. Later, on the death of Sheriff Grange, he succeeded to the shrievalty of Wellington County. Mr. Gow was essentially a man of the people, and Guelph had reason to regret his decease, for he never spared himself when services were looked for. He was a good speaker, a splendid organizer, and an effective worker. He had the happy manner of the orator who compels by his candor the acquiescence of his hearer, and three elections by acclamation were proof of the general confidence entertained in him by his constituents.

This was to be a Parliament devoted to a redemption of pledges, and the strength of the new *régime* was made manifest on the first division, following a motion made by Mr. Blake, to the effect that the House felt bound to express its regret that no effectual steps had been taken to bring to justice the murderers of Thomas Scott, and its opinion that something should be done to that end. Thomas Scott, an Orangeman, was shot, it will be remembered, during the first Riel rebellion in Manitoba, and there was much dissatisfaction in Ontario over the failure on the part of the authorities to secure and punish his murderers. A resolution similar to the present one had been introduced before the recess, and John Sandfield's Government had refused to concur in it. The matter had been a good deal discussed during the bye-elections, and now every member of the House, with one exception, was prepared to support an expression of opinion which, it was felt, truly represented the view of the whole province. The exception was Hon. M. C. Cameron, who thought it should be left to the

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tribunals of justice to deal with crime, and that a resolution which would not be followed by action was a mere vote-catcher which should receive no endorsement from him. Now, as ever, Mr. Cameron was politically consistent, and did not lack the courage to stand alone when, with sixty-two of his fellow-members arrayed against him, he recorded his solitary "Nay."

On the 24th, Mr. Cameron moved the appointment of a select committee to inquire whether any, and, if any, what, corrupt inducement or offer was made to the Hon. E. B. Wood to induce him to resign his position as Treasurer of the province of Ontario, by the Hon. E. Blake or any other member of the present Administration. Mr. Blake was willing to accept the motion on its being so amended as to declare that Mr. Cameron, as a member, had made this statement in his place in the House, and was therefore responsible for it. Mr. Cameron resisted this proposed amendment, on the ground that he had made no positive assertion of corruption, but simply desired to ascertain whether such attempt at corruption had been made. The amendment was carried, on a division, by 45 to 20, further amended by 42 to 16, and finally adopted as amended by 43 to 19. The committee was called together, but Mr. Cameron refused to recognize it. Messrs. Blake and Wood were present, and were offered opportunity to make such statements as they deemed necessary. Mr. Blake said: "I am very glad to have this opportunity afforded to me. I have read the charge that has been made, and I have to say that I deny the truth of it entirely; it is absolutely false." Mr. Wood said: "I have heard the charge made, and I say it is false in all its particulars; there is not one word of truth in it. With regard to any questions the committee may wish to ask me, I shall be at any time

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willing to be subjected to the most searching examination in every possible way."

At a later meeting of the committee, the chairman, Dr. Boulter, informed the committee that on the night previous Hon. M. C. Cameron had handed to him the following letter:

"G. H. Boulter, Esq., M.P.P., Chairman, Charges against Hon. E. B. Wood, etc.

"In order that there may be no misapprehension on the part of your committee as to the reason for my not attending on every notification of its meetings, I have the honor to state, the Government having seen fit, with the sanction of the House, against my will, to change the resolution introduced by me, asking for a committee of inquiry, and having framed the charge as they thought proper, they thereby took the matter out of my hands. Therefore, as stated by me on the floor of the House, it is not my intention to take an active part in the inquiry. Those who chose to put my resolution in a shape different from that proposed by me assumed to know better what was to be investigated, and the manner in which the charge should be investigated, than I did. They must therefore accept the duty of conducting the inquiry, and assume the responsibility of neglecting to do so.

"No doubt it would be somewhat novel for those implicated in a charge to undertake to make it out against themselves, though, if justly amenable thereto, they would be in a position to do so, but this only goes to show the impropriety of the Government's interference with my resolution.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"M. C. CAMERON."

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To a layman, such a determination to indulge in a streak of Jedburg justice is comical. To compel a man to accuse himself, and then draw upon his imagination for his supposed crime, is unusual, and an uncommon practice in these days of realism. To ask unsuspected men to draw up a declaration of innocence to a charge unmade and unmakeable is a fit subject for a Gilbertian extravaganza.

After hearing the statements made by Messrs. Blake and Wood, and reading Mr. Cameron's letter, the following resolution was unanimously adopted and reported to the House:

"Be it resolved, That no corrupt inducement or offer was made to the Hon. E. B. Wood, as a member of this House, to induce him to resign his position as Treasurer of the Province of Ontario, by the Hon. E. Blake, while a member of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly.

"Reported, 15th Feb., 1872."

When during this session the House settled definitely into Reform and Conservative parties, Mr. Cameron was made leader of the Conservative Opposition, and discharged the duties of the position with ability and perfect knowledge of its intricacies and requirements. With his followers he was all that could be desired in manner, tone and love of the work entrusted to him, and had the full confidence of his party. Although he was considered a "scold," and was subject to fits of irritation, he was as punctilious in trifles as in matters of moment, and possessed what one might term "the soul of honor." This was unostentatiously displayed, but the spirit extended over his whole life. He was so precise in his ideas of honesty that he would not send an unstamped letter to the House post-office if it were on any other than public business. That he was as honor-

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able as exact was illustrated by the fact that, when an envelope containing a proof copy of the estimates, not yet brought down, was placed upon his desk in the House, presumably by a traitorous official, he at once sent it over the floor to the Provincial Treasurer, explaining how it had come into his possession.

Mr. Cameron's irritability arose largely from physical suffering, although few knew this. When a lad he lost a leg through a gunshot wound, inflicted by careless handling when duck-shooting, and the stump never properly healed, was always more or less painful, and, at times, when he was "snappish," he was really suffering keenly. He was of nervous temperament, as was often evident, but never more markedly so than when the third reading of the new Education Bill was called, creating a new department and necessitating the appointment of a Minister of Education. He refused to be a party to what he regarded as infamous, and, evidently acting under pre-arrangement, he rose from his chair and, with his followers, solemnly marched out of the House in single file, with Major Rosevear, of East Durham, one of the wags of the Conservative party, turning his face to the House, shaking his leg vigorously, and making a final decorous yet sweeping bow to the Speaker. Mr. Hunter, of Grey, improved the opportunity by shouting, "See the March of the Cameron Men!" and everybody roared—a small joke being as acceptable in the House as a very diminutive witticism at a church tea-meeting.

On the 6th of February, 1872, a bill to amend the Legislative Assembly Act came before the House for further amendment in the direction of increase of number of members of the Executive Council. The Government had already discovered the awkward position in

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which the Cabinet was often placed because of the paucity of its numbers. An additional member of the Executive would afford a more equable proportion of distributed strength for the performance of duties, and congestion would be more easily prevented. There was no fear of a deadlock because of the even number of six members in the Cabinet, for, in case of difference of opinion, the Premier would rule. To avoid unnecessary conflict in the House, it was proposed, not that there should be six members, but that there should be not *more* than six. The change was fully debated, and was so strongly supported by Conservatives as well as Reformers that it seemed unnecessary to divide the House. Mr. Cameron, however, persisted in his opposition to the proposed reform, and the result was its adoption by a vote of 48 to 20. Since that time the number and strength of the Cabinet have been twice increased without serious dissent.

After Confederation, a member of the Dominion House of Commons could, if elected thereto, occupy a seat in the local Assembly, and this had a tendency to raise up a class of professional politicians, highly undesirable, and likely to lead to the continuation of abuses which Confederation, it was hoped, would destroy. We have noticed John A.'s expressed desire to take a seat in the Ontario Assembly at the time of the death of Sir Henry Smith, and can imagine the situation that might thus have arisen, and had such an arrangement been generally carried out the result would have been deplorable. In both the House of Commons and the Assembly acts were passed declaring the members of one body ineligible to a seat in the other. The wisdom of this departure has been often demonstrated, and while to-day there may be differences as to the propriety of the course

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HON. MATTHEW CROOKS CAMERON,
First Leader of the Ontario Conservative Opposition.



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followed at times by either body, neither attempts even critical interference with the other. So thoroughly is their independence now understood that the power of veto possessed by the central Government is not likely to be ever again vexatiously exercised.

When the bill to render illegal this dual representation was before the Assembly, Mr. Rykert, of Lincoln, took lofty ground as a champion of popular rights, and proposed an amendment, seconded by Mr. Macdonald, of Leeds, that, "in the opinion of this House, the said bill interferes with the rights of the people to select such representatives as, in their judgment, may best advance their interests and promote the welfare of the province, without any sufficient cause for depriving the people of such rights having arisen, and it is inexpedient and improper to take away a right or privilege enjoyed by the people, without grave, weighty and urgent reasons therefor; therefore," etc. "Inexpedient" and "improper" were good terms, and so evidently thought the half-dozen of the nineteen members voting for Mr. Rykert's amendment, whose occupancy of seats in both houses was threatened by the bill.

JOHN C. RYKERT, Esq., Lincoln, was a very well-known politician in his day, and there was a generally accepted idea that he was the hardest-working member of the Opposition. He was believed to make more bullets than any of his colleagues, and to show more skill in aiming at and hitting the mark than any of the men around him. There was point in the quotation made by E. B. Wood, when he and Rykert had a political set-to, and E. B., indulging in his favorite gesture of supporting his injured hand upon the other arm, and shaking the long index finger at the object of his

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remarks, said, half-laughingly, and yet in sarcastic fashion :

“And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew.”

Rykert was an industrious compiler of scrap-books, and there was fun for everybody when he dragged from under, or in, or about his desk one of his many scissors-and-paste volumes, which formed a perfect magazine of the sayings and doings of the members, not only of the Legislative Assembly, but of Old Canada and the House of Commons. These were used—and generally, be it said, convincingly used—to confirm some statement in his usually belligerent speeches.

The second meeting of the second Legislature took place on the 8th of January, 1873, and as a result of the withdrawal of Messrs. Blake, Mackenzie and other gentlemen holding seats in the House of Commons, many new faces were to be seen above the members' desks.

OLIVER MOWAT had been induced to leave the bench and take up the burden of administrator-in-chief of the affairs of Ontario.

TIMOTHY BLAIR PARDEE had been chosen as one of his colleagues, and never did Mr. Mowat show greater wisdom and foresight than when he selected Mr. Pardee as an associate in the Government. Messrs. McKellar and Crooks still sat in the seats of the mighty, and in the following year CHRISTOPHER FINLAY FRASER joined the Cabinet.

When Mr. McKellar retired, in 1875, HON. S. C. WOOD succeeded him. In 1877 the Cabinet was increased by the accession of HON. A. S. HARDY, and for several years these men, Mowat, Pardee, Fraser, Crooks,

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Wood, and Hardy formed one of the strongest, if not the strongest of the administrations Ontario has known.

Mr. Carling was one of those who preferred a seat at Ottawa, and in his place as local member for London sat WILLIAM RALPH MEREDITH, destined to a long career as Leader of the Opposition to the invincible Mowat.

There were many returns and notifications accumulated during the recess, to be read at the opening of the House, and one of these was specially sad and significant. It read:

To the Honorable James G. Currie, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, being two members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, hereby give notice that a vacancy has happened in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, in the representation of the town of Cornwall, by the death of the Honorable John Sandfield Macdonald, member for the said town.

"Dated at Toronto this 10th day of June, 1872.

"EDWARD BLAKE,
"JAMES BETHUNE."

And so John Sandfield was dead! The dire disease which had weakened him so much in December had completed its work in June, aided by the heart-break which had inevitably followed his disappointment and overthrow. He had fought out the fight largely alone, for his colleagues, leaving out Cameron and Wood as effective aids, had counted for little in the contest. When he retired to the seat in the south-western corner of the chamber, assigned to the Speaker when the House was

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in Committee of the Whole, he practically gave up his political career, and calmly awaited the death which was doubtless a welcome relief.

Sir William Howland had entered upon his last year as Lieut.-Governor, and had an important speech to read to the House. In it was foreshadowed legislation intended to make the surplus of four million dollars more useful to the country than when hoarded in the strong box of the province, and plainly indicating its appropriation to a complete and satisfactory rearrangement of the Municipal Loan Fund debt, a matter which has been fully dealt with elsewhere in this book. Railway enterprises occupied a prominent position on the programme, while educational matters, from the public school to the university, were to be dealt with. The public institutions of an eleemosynary character were recommended to the attention of the House, and asylums for the deaf and dumb and for the blind were to be instituted. Allusion was made to the objection held by Quebec to the award of the arbitrators appointed under Confederation, and promising to bring the matter before the Privy Council of England, and the House was informed that a Joint Commission had been appointed for surveying the boundary between Ontario and Quebec, and had already commenced operations.

The Address in reply to the Speech was moved by Mr. Caldwell, of North Lanark, one of the newly elected members, and the youngest man who, up to that date, had undertaken such an onerous task. He spoke modestly, but with a business-like manner, which secured hearers and proved his capabilities for discharging the duties of a legislator. The Caldwell family had interests involved in the litigation which led to the

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passage of the celebrated "Streams Bill," and it is noteworthy that, although this bill was of general application, Mr. Caldwell always refrained from voting when it was up, because its provisions would affect his private business.

In those days the Address was a mere echo of the Speech unless amendments were carried, and they were likely to be of a character affecting the standing of the Government itself. It was divided into paragraphs, each of which, in turn, was separately considered and amended or adopted. On this occasion it consisted of seventeen paragraphs, seven of which were adopted without opposition, and a debate arose upon the eighth, relating to education. It was not completed upon that day, but its adjournment was noteworthy as marked by the first official act in the House of the new Premier, Hon. Attorney-General Mowat, who moved the adjournment, seconded by Hon. Mr. Cameron, still leader of the Opposition.

Amongst the many public bills introduced at this session was one brought in by Hon. Mr. Pardee, entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of a hospital for the reclamation and cure of habitual drunkards," which was read a third time and received the Royal assent. A building, known as the inebriate asylum, was erected at Hamilton, but being urgently needed as an asylum for insane, was used for that purpose. There may come a time when public sentiment will regard the establishment of such an institution as a matter of necessity in dealing with the evils arising from the use of liquor, but so far governments have hesitated to place the drunkard on the same footing as the lunatic by instituting machinery for arbitrarily depriving him of his personal liberty.

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Premier Mowat early showed that industry which caused him to be described as "a glutton for work," and during this session the midnight hour frequently found members present in the House.

This was evidently a time of advance movement on the part of advocates of temperance, for not a day passed in the early portion of the session in which numerous petitions in favor of "prohibitory" legislation were not presented. Objection was taken by Mr. Rykert to the reception of one of these petitions, because it sought for legislation affecting trade and commerce, a subject solely within the powers of the legislature of the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. Speaker decided that there was no rule of the House infringed by the reception of the petition, as the power of the Ontario Legislature to interfere in the matter was not then in question.

Later in the session, however, a bill (174) was introduced to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in Ontario, and when proposed for second reading it was opposed, on the ground that it interfered with trade and commerce, and could not, therefore, be considered.

Mr. Speaker, having been referred to, decided that he found the powers of the Legislature were limited by the 90th section of the B. N. A. Act, and he had unwillingly come to the conclusion that the House had not the power to pass the bill now before it.

Politicians have been "unwillingly coming to conclusions" with this subject ever since these early rumblings of a storm that has often gathered and broken and disturbed the air of Ontario politics. And the end is not yet. As a result of all this temperance agitation, on the 26th of March, a special committee was appointed to prepare a memorial to His Excellency (as the Lieut.-Gover-

nor was still styled) in reference to the use of intoxicants, and it reported that 369 petitions from upwards of 28,000 inhabitants of this province had been presented to the Assembly praying for prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages within the province.

Memorials signed by Mr. Speaker on behalf of the Legislative Assembly, praying legislation on the subject, were ordered to be prepared and forwarded to His Excellency the Governor-General, to the Senators of the Dominion, and to the House of Commons; and another to the Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, praying him to forward such memorials to the parties named.

The heavy work of the session was undoubtedly upon the rearrangement of the Municipal Loan Fund debt, and the granting of liberal yet judicious aid to required railways. There were other matters, however, which may be briefly noticed as showing the trend of the times.

Steps were taken towards the establishment of a school of practical science, with a museum of mineralogy, and further advance was made towards the starting of a provincial model farm and agricultural college. There was throughout the province a general belief amongst agriculturists that an error had been committed in the purchase of lands at Mimico for the use of a model farm, and after a decision had been reached condemnatory of its retention, a more suitable place was looked for and found in the neighborhood of Guelph. The suitability of position was conceded by all disinterested persons who knew its general character, and the question of the purchase from Mr. F. W. Stone, after a thorough inspection, of 550 acres for \$70,000, was never in doubt. The wisdom of the choice has been demonstrated almost daily since it was made, but for years

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there were lingering doubts in the minds of Eastern men as to the use of a farm of that description for educational purposes. For many sessions of the House there were adverse criticisms of the purpose, the methods, the utility of its maintenance, and of the value of the teaching there given to all desiring it and willing to pay the comparatively small amount required for instruction and board. In the House the fight over the purchase was a keen one. All sorts of propositions came from the Opposition, and some were introduced by supporters of the Government. Mr. Boulter moved that "in the opinion of this House it is not desirable that at the present time the Provincial Treasury should be burdened with the cost of the construction and maintenance of an agricultural farm and college." Other propositions in amendment were put to the House and voted down by greater or less majorities. An analysis of the several proposals will show that Dr. Boulter was opposed to the purchase of any farm and erection of a college; that Mr. Cameron sought to declare that the House would not be justified in sanctioning any change in the location of such college and farm from the site selected by the Administration of the late Hon. J. S. Macdonald; Mr. Rykert moved that if the Agricultural College is not to be built at Mimico, it is expedient that Woodstock be selected as a desirable place for the building of an agricultural college. Mr. Merrick urged a similar claim for the city of Ottawa, and Mr. Rykert, despairing of Woodstock, moved that any site selected should be within a radius of ten miles from Toronto, "on account of the peculiar advantages afforded by being in close proximity to the metropolis of the province." Mr. Farwell (South Ontario) moved that "inasmuch as parts of lots 23, 24, 25, 26, in the first concession of Whitby (being in all

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600 acres, including Trafalgar Castle), can be acquired, that the said lands and buildings are altogether suitable for the said farm and college, and that it is expedient to purchase the said lands and buildings for the said purposes."

The Government were doubtless proud to learn that so many excellent sites for college and farm existed in all parts of Ontario, but they, nevertheless, adhered to the opinion that no place contained more suitable characteristics for the purpose than the Stone farm at Guelph, and when their proposition was formally put from the Chair, no further opposition to it was manifested, and the motion was passed without a demand for a division.

DR. GEORGE H. BOULTER, who was solicitous in this instance for the preservation of the provincial finances, represented North Hastings, and was one of the jolly, good-hearted fellows who carry the spirit of fun with them everywhere, and was as welcome in a crowd of Reformers as among Conservatives, although probably one of the keenest partisans in the Legislature. He was in four assemblies after Confederation, a pretty certain indication of the good position he held in the confidence of his fellow Conservatives.

HENRY MERRICK, Esq., who urged the advantages of the Ottawa neighborhood for a model farm, has lived to see his idea, to a certain extent, carried out by the establishment there of the Dominion Experimental Farm. Mr. Merrick was elected member for North Leeds and Grenville. A manufacturer of woollens and engaged in mercantile business, he was regarded by his party as a financial authority, and his experience had doubtless made him familiar with such matters. If not a first-class speaker, he expressed himself so clearly and

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cogently that his opinion was valued, and few lengthy debates came off in which he did not take part. He was one of the popular members who disarmed criticism by saying unpleasant things in a pleasant manner.

ABRAM FARWELL, Esq., who desired to secure the model farm for his own county, came to the House from South Ontario in 1871, and was well known as a temperance reformer. He was a ready debater, and put his arguments forcibly but pleasantly. As an active public man he was well known in the Ontarios, and his Liberal proclivities were tinged with enough expression of Conservative sentiment to maintain his thorough independence. He was not re-elected.

Mr. Rykert was frequently to the fore as an objector, and upon going into concurrence in some delayed resolutions, he moved that "this House . . . feels bound to express its opinion that it is highly derogatory to the interests of education that any Inspector of High or Public Schools should occupy a political position either for candidature or by acting or engaging in any political contest." The vote taken was of 12 yeas to 41 nays. Had a substantive motion been proposed instead of a catch vote of want of confidence, the division would have been of different character. The election law was afterwards so amended that no Public or High School Inspector could, without violating the spirit of the act, become a candidate or actively engage in a political contest. So the law remained until 1906, when, an Inspector of Public Schools having been elected a member of the House, the Act was so amended as to permit him to continue in his position.

Mr. Rykert also gave expression to the timber policy of the Opposition when, during this session, he moved that "no license to cut timber upon the wild lands of

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the province shall be granted (except in such quantities as shall be required by the actual settler and for local consumption) until the Order-in-Council respecting the same shall have been confirmed by this House."

Some of the railway lines to which aid was voted were the Wellington, Grey and Bruce, which was assisted to the extent of \$2,000 per mile, upon certain conditions as to expenditure; the Northern Extension Railway Company; London, Huron and Bruce; Prince Edward County; Port Dover and Lake Huron Company, and others.

The Municipal Loan Fund Bill had passed through several stages with slight amendments, and was ready for third reading, when, upon the rising of Committee, Mr. Lauder fired his last shot by moving that the bill be not now read the third time, but referred back to Committee of the Whole for certain amendments. His motion received but 8 yeas, while 49 nays were recorded. The original motion was put and carried without further opposition.

A. W. LAUDER, Esq., was one of the "nine martyrs" who followed John Sandfield Macdonald to the end of his fight for a mistaken policy. He remained in the Legislature as member for South Grey, and afterwards for East Grey until the election of 1887, when his name disappears from the list of members. He was consistent in much that he did, but was impulsive, "tetchy," and easily "drawn out." Nothing afforded more amusement to Hon. C. F. Fraser than to make some remark indirectly affecting the honorable member for South Grey, who was at once upon his feet to deny or explain, his associates on both sides enjoying the fun. Whatever one may say of his judgment, he undoubtedly was convinced he was right. His unexpected death was re-

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grettable, and when reference was made to it in the House there was no doubt as to the genuine grief of his leader and others who had come to know him well.

The end of the session of 1873, one of the most important in the history of the Legislature, was reached March 23rd, when the House prorogued after the Royal assent had been given to one hundred and sixty-three Acts—a pretty certain indication of ministerial industry!

HON. W. R. MEREDITH, a Conservative, and member for London in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, entered the House on the 8th of January, 1873, when he took the oath and his seat, retaining it until called to a higher position, if not a higher sphere, as Chief Justice of the province. That his promotion was deserved men of both parties freely and with pleasure admit, and that his political character was free from blemish has never been questioned. To speak of his general ability as a politician, and to repeat here what was so frequently said of him, is only to reassert what nobody disputes. To discuss his party affinities before his acceptance of office, and to criticise his political course, is out of place here. Suffice it to cheerfully declare that he was a straightforward antagonist, a warm opponent of what he regarded as wrong or inexpedient, and a respected exponent of views which he had espoused when he first entered the political arena.

His connection with Toronto University is, probably, that portion of his life of which he is most justly proud, and which promises to cause his name to be remembered long after his labors for the institution of which he is deservedly head have become matter of historical record. He cannot work miracles, but he can influence further educational reforms, and his ripe experience and full knowledge of everyday modern life peculiarly fit him for



SIR WILLIAM RALPH MEREDITH,
Chief Justice High Court of Ontario, previously Leader of Conservative Opposition.

the pleasant task to which he ungrudgingly gives the few spare hours at his command.

GEORGE WILLIAM MONK, M.P.P. for Carleton, a Liberal-Conservative in politics, with a Conservative leaning, was elected in 1871, unseated on petition, and again returned in January, 1872. He was re-elected in 1875, 1880, 1884, 1887, 1891, and sat until the Parliament of 1895. During much of this period he had acted as "whip" of the Conservatives, and when associated with John B. Freeman, Esq., North Norfolk, the pair of whip-crackers seemed to be ideal occupants of an important position. Mr. Monk sat in the Local Legislature during nearly the whole of Mr. Mowat's administration, and was always willing to "give and take" when delay was necessary, or to expedite matters when that seemed important. He occupied a deservedly high position in life insurance circles, and was a useful member of special committees on that or cognate subjects. He seldom spoke, and when he did his remarks were earnestly listened to, for they were generally of a conciliatory character and produced the desired effect. Mr. Monk is still to be seen on the streets of Toronto, in which city he now resides, looking as if time dealt very kindly with him.

The House assembled for the third meeting of the second Legislature on the 7th of January, 1874, when the speech was read on the second day by a new Lieut.-Governor, Hon. John Crawford. There was also a new Speaker, who had to be elected before the formal rendering of the Speech could take place. Mr. Currie had signified his desire to be released from the Speaker's chair in the following letter, addressed to the Clerk of the House:

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“SIR,—Finding the duties of the office of Speaker exceedingly irksome and severe, and believing that I can better serve my constituents and my native province upon the floor of the Legislature, I beg to resign, and hereby resign, the office of Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

“I have the honor to be,

“Yours, etc.,

“J. G. CURRIE.

“To Charles Todd Gillmor, Esq., Clerk Legislative Assembly of Ontario.”

After the Lieut.-Governor had pointed out the necessity for electing a Speaker, he left the chamber, and RUPERT MEARSE WELLS, Esq., was appointed Speaker. Mr. Wells, although a non-resident, had been asked to stand for South Bruce in place of Hon. E. Blake. He first saw the light in the County of Prescott, 1835, was educated for the law, and became a partner of Edward Blake from 1860 to 1870, and was successful in his practice as in other things. Mr. Wells was a valuable occupant of the Speaker's chair. His decisions were full, clear, and have never been questioned. They form admirable examples of really judicial ruling, and have afforded reliable guidance to succeeding Speakers. Mr. Wells held office for the balance of the second Legislature, and when the House met after the general elections he was re-elected.

Governor Crawford's Speech was not one to arouse unusual interest, and the most important measure indicated was a bill to provide for the use of the ballot in elections to the Legislature. The writer had in the previous session brought in a bill with this object, which

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was withdrawn after receiving the approval of the House on its second reading, the Attorney-General promising to make such a bill a Government measure the following session. As the ballot has been specially dealt with in another chapter, it need not be further referred to here.

The Address in reply to the Speech was moved by A. S. Hardy, who made his first appearance in the House as successor to E. B. Wood, in the representation of South Brant. On the consideration of the fifth paragraph, an amendment was proposed by Mr. Boulton regretting the disallowance of the Orange bills for Eastern and Western Ontario, which was voted down by 38 to 24. Later, a similar amendment was proposed by Messrs. Cameron and Merrick, but was ruled out of order, as reopening a question that had already been decided by the House.

The temperance people were anxious to follow up the work of last session, and Mr. Clarke (Norfolk) moved that the House do express its desire that the British North America Act be so amended as to enable the Legislatures of the several provinces to enact such laws as in their wisdom may seem necessary for the regulation and prohibition and suppression of the use and making of ardent spirits as a beverage. His resolution was unanimously adopted.

During this session I was instrumental in having an act passed to require the owners of threshing and other machines to guard against accidents, and I have always looked back with great satisfaction to this apparently insignificant piece of work. The one-armed man was becoming all too common in farming districts, largely as a result of threshing-machine accidents, and inquiry showed that in England and some of the States it had been found possible to provide efficient safe-

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guards. After the adoption of these was made compulsory in Ontario, there was seldom an addition from this cause to the Order of the Empty Sleeve.

On the 9th of March in this year, Mr. Cameron moved that members of the Cabinet were to be examined under oath when appearing as witnesses before a Committee of the House, but not respecting any matter or thing which by their oath of office they were required to keep secret, and an amendment was proposed by Mr. Crooks that reasons of State policy preclude members of the Executive Council from disclosing any confidential matter connected with their position. Mr. Meredith, in an amendment to the amendment, moved that the evidence of witnesses, whether members of the Executive Council or not, should be taken under oath. This was lost by a vote of 48 yeas to 11 yeas.

The Attorney-General moved that the proposed amendment be amended by words implying that on grounds of public policy communications between members of the Executive Council touching public matters, or between members of the Council and subordinates, are by law confidential, and that by British constitutional usage it is for ministers of the Crown having the confidence of Parliament to determine from time to time, on their responsibility as such ministers, what papers to produce and what communications to make to Parliament, that a like duty and responsibility belong to ministers of the Crown as members of the Executive Council, in regard to any Committee of the House, and to submitting to examination on oath or otherwise before such Committee touching such matters, unless the House order otherwise. Yeas 45, and yeas 19.

Every session there are private bills upon which fees are remitted, usually bills which have been withdrawn, or

which are in the interest of religion or charity. Amongst those thus treated in 1874 were the Orange bill for Western Ontario, which was rejected by the House, and that for Eastern Ontario, which had been withdrawn by its promoter.

Mr. Fraser introduced a resolution setting forth that it is desirable and expedient that all appropriations from the public funds in aid of charitable institutions should be made upon some properly arranged and equitable system, and that municipal and other corporations, as well as private individuals, should be stimulated and encouraged to give a liberal support to such institutions.

Prior to the passage of this resolution each particular hospital grant, instead of being a sum fairly earned, was the result of a sort of grab-game wherein the stronger party prevailed. There is little wonder that the adjustment thus alternating between Protestant and Catholic institutions, as chance or adroit scheming directed, was deemed an unfair one, and that Mr. Fraser and the Government did wisely in arranging a method of distribution based on work done.

The session eventuated in more important legislation than the opening Speech had indicated, and there were placed upon the statute book of the year many useful, practical, and every-day laws, some emanating from private members, and many being public measures. A plan of aid to superannuated high and public school teachers was introduced, and altogether one hundred and four bills received the Royal assent when the House was prorogued on 24th of March, 1874.

There had been several bye-elections previous to this session, and some occurred during the present one. In addition to those already mentioned as taking their seats for the first time, there were D'Arcy Boulton, from South

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Simcoe; John Godkin Giles, from South Leeds; Arch. Bishop, from South Huron; J. D. O'Donoghue, from Ottawa; T. M. Daly, from North Perth, and last, but not least, John McGowan, from North Wellington.

The change in the representation of South Simcoe was occasioned by the withdrawal of THOMAS R. FERGUSON, Esq., who was one of those affected by the abolition of dual representation. Mr. Ferguson was elected in 1867. and was a frequent speaker in the House, though monotonous to an almost painful degree. A favorite form of expression became absurd from repetition and ran: "You know, Mr. Speaker, and I know, and the country and this House know, Sir, that," etc., with a nod of the head to the right, left, and centre which made comical what might be perfectly true. He was a politician of the turbulent type, and when Nassau Chatham Gowan was contesting North Wellington with Charles Allan, Ferguson was there and did much to precipitate a riot in the township of Maryborough. He had to pass through Elora on his return after the poll. The Reformers had gone through the excitement of receiving reports giving returns in favor of Allan, and many were about retiring, when a buggy containing two men drew up in front of the hotel at which the Grits were jubilating. It was immediately seen that it was Ferguson who was in control, and refusing to permit the driver accompanying him to pass the hotel where the Reformers were assembled. A shout was raised, and two men approached the buggy and endeavored to pull "Tom" out of it. He sprang to his feet, placed the muzzle of a heavily loaded gun, which he carried, to the breast of Andrew Gordon, twice pulled the trigger, but fortunately found the weapon useless from rust, which had filled the nipple and rendered harmless the cap.

Ferguson was pulled from the buggy and advised to run for his life. He was thrust over the bar of the hotel, some one pulling off one of his boots as he disappeared, and was then hurried from the rear of the building to a place of safety by some of the Reformers present. Next morning his tall hat furnished a football for passing schoolboys. A trial followed this attempted shooting, but the jury could see nothing wrong in the affair, and no verdict was secured. When I met Ferguson afterwards he laughed at what might have been a catastrophe. His pluck was seen when the final vote was taken in the House at the time of John Sandfield's defeat. Every vote was needed on both sides, and Ferguson, very ill at the time, was placed on a couch and carried into the House, and gave his vote from that position.

ARCH. BISHOP, Esq., of South Huron, was familiarly known as "the Bishop of Huron," and certainly brought no dishonor on his ecclesiastical character. He was an entertaining speaker on any subject with which he was specially familiar.

D. J. O'DONOGHUE, of Ottawa, whose recent death called forth many well-deserved tributes, was a diamond somewhat in the rough, a thorough and straightforward politician, a creditable and clever leader of the Labor party about the metropolis, and afterwards of the whole Dominion. He had thorough knowledge of questions specially affecting the workingman, was not ashamed of his confreres, nor had he reason to be, and strongly believed in the rights of man in the most comprehensive terms. He never advocated physical force demonstrations, and believed them not only destructive of order, but as imperilling the best interest of the State. After he left the Legislature he represented the Local Government in labor difficulties, and later was attached to that

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department at Ottawa. A clear reasoner and with great natural ability, Mr. O'Donoghue accomplished what he did by sheer force of intellect and devotion to principle.

ADAM OLIVER, Esq., was not new to the House in 1874, for he had been elected in 1867 and again in 1871. For some reason he resigned in January, 1874, and was immediately re-elected by acclamation. He was a model man of business tact and enterprise. As a lumberman he bought largely in the country of which Port Arthur is the centre, and was one of the first to attempt development thereabout. The Township of Oliver was named after him, and he was an early municipal representative of the Township of Shuniah, a name seldom missing from the journals of the proceedings of the Legislature. Mr. Oliver had filled important municipal offices in the County of Oxford and town of Ingersoll. Take him all in all, he was a typical Canadian, and highly valued by his constituents. He was one of the "common-sense" talkers when he addressed the House, and was acceptable to his hearers. He had one point which, to many men, would have been strong proof of his fitness, for he could, along with other politicians, play an excellent game of euchre, an outcome doubtless of his backwoods experiences.

T. M. DALY, Esq., came from North Perth in the Conservative interests in 1874, as successor to Andrew Monteith, and was one of the most popular of the story-telling members, one of those who can raise a laugh in others and enjoy it. Of attempts at legislation the records are a blank. He was of a class very different from that in which Rykert took the lead, and yet he had more or less influence in the House, and especially in the smoking-room, where his stories commanded full and

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persistent attention. To-day he would be described as a good "mixer."

ANDREW MONTEITH, Esq., was member for North Perth in the first and second Ontario Legislatures, and was undoubtedly one of the old brigade. While not aspiring to the position of leader of any section of the Conservative party, he had that knowledge of agricultural matters which induced him, in one respect at least, to agree with the Reform Government, and to use the College at Guelph as a good school of instruction to which he deemed it wise to send his son, now Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, who is making good use of the knowledge thus acquired. Mr. Monteith was one of the rough-and-ready style of orators, but had the respect of both sides of the House.

JOHN CLARKE, Esq., M.D., member for North Norfolk, was elected in 1871, and sat in the House for several sessions. He was not only active in the representation of his constituents, but a faithful introducer of new measures, and specially urged woman's rights and temperance reform. He was zealously industrious in the promulgation of his views upon these subjects, and through his control of the Reform newspaper in Simcoe secured a large number of readers and supporters of his ideas. He was appointed sheriff of Algoma, and died in Port Arthur.

GEORGE MCMANUS, Esq., Cardwell, sat in the House as representative of that constituency in 1871. He was a Conservative in political feeling, but at the time of the crisis which decided the fate of the Macdonald Government his voting was erratic. He was succeeded by John Flesher, Esq., a Conservative, and the constituency has leanings in that direction.

THOMAS HODGINS, Esq., Q.C., represented Elgin

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West in 1871, and was one of the most distinguished of the Toronto bar. He did not care, however, to hold his own in the political field, and retired after showing unusual aptitude in his interpretation of the law of Parliament and kindred subjects.

JAMES BETHUNE, Esq., Q.C., was returned for Stormont at a bye-election in 1872, and afterwards in 1875. By his early death the province and Legislature lost the services of a clever man, an influential citizen, and a sound Reformer. He had some crotchets, which time would have sent to limbo, but in the main was a man of practical ideas, and sure to secure a following in House and country.

WILLIAM ROBINSON, Esq., a Reformer, sat for Kingston in 1871 and 1875. He was well known to be a member of the Orange order, but so impartial was his conduct in every matter that he held the respect and secured the support of many prominent Catholics. He spoke well, and was listened to with close attention.

PETER PATTERSON, Esq., of West York, a Reformer, elected in 1871, was descended from an Irish family settled in the United States, and was engaged in Canada very successfully as an agricultural implement manufacturer. He spoke pleasantly and acceptably, and gave evidence of his business knowledge on several important occasions.

The 12th of November, 1874, witnessed the unusual occurrence of a second meeting of the House in the same year. To hold a session in the coming winter months would compel a later meeting than was considered advisable, and public interests were better served by securing an expression of opinion previous to the not far distant general elections.

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The Speech from the Throne by Lieut.-Governor Crawford indicated contemplated increase in the number of members; an arrangement with the Dominion Government to prevent overlapping of immigration work; an extension of the objects to which aid from the Municipal Loan Fund might be applied; and the advancement of those seemingly perennial questions, the boundaries of Ontario, and a settlement of other differences between Ontario and Quebec. The work of consolidating the statutes had been entered upon, and an amendment of the law respecting bribery at elections was promised.

No opposition was offered to the proposed Address in reply, and it was disposed of without the delay arising from a lengthy debate.

WILLIAM H. SCOTT, Esq., recently elected for West Peterborough, was the only new member to be introduced, and his accession was an event upon which the House was to be congratulated. He held the qualifications necessary to any man aspiring to high and useful position in a deliberative and law-making Assembly, and bade fair to attain it. Somewhat slow in his style of delivery, he succeeded, nevertheless, in holding the attention of his hearers, and his remarks were not uttered until the speaker felt that he had thoroughly mastered the details of his subject. He made no false promises, and never rushed into absurd positions for the purpose of momentarily carrying a doubtful point. He was logical or nothing, and scorned, because he never required, a misstatement. He never leant upon a reed to carry him over a bog, but felt bottom before he ventured in. He was strongly and conscientiously Conservative in his views, and was not altogether free from partisanship, but he never descended to its low forms, and sought to win honestly or to wait for other opportunity. He

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was esteemed by both sides, and his early death was regretted by all.

On the 20th of November, Mr. Rykert asked for a special committee, consisting of Messrs. Currie, Cameron, Hardy, Meredith and Deroche, to inquire into the truthfulness or falsity of charges made against Mr. Rykert by Mr. McKellar, at a political meeting in Wallaceburg, to the effect that he had been offered and accepted sums of money to influence his action in the House towards certain proposed legislation. The enquiry went on for some time, witnesses were examined, and a divided committee, consisting of three Reformers and two Conservatives, reported to the House. The Reform section of it, Messrs. Deroche, Hardy and Currie, reported that a portion of the charges had been sustained; and Messrs. Cameron and Meredith declared that they could find no evidence adduced before them to substantiate the charges, or any or either of them. The report presented to the House the opinions of Messrs. Deroche, Hardy and Currie only, while the amendment proposed was representative of the views of Messrs. Cameron and Meredith. The evidence taken was voluminous in quantity, even if not so convincing as either of the two parties in the wordy war might have desired.

As indicated in the Speech, a bill was introduced, on the 7th of December, to "readjust the Representation in the Legislature," which was read a second time on the 14th, and a third time on the 18th of December. It met with vigorous opposition, on the ground of the retention of the anomalies so long existent, and which have since been removed. The majorities in its favor, however, displayed no loss of confidence in the Administration.

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During this session the use of the ballot was extended to municipal elections.

Ninety-five acts were assented to on the 21st of December, making this the shortest session since Confederation.

A general election was held in obedience to writs issued by Lieut.-Governor Crawford, bearing date of December 23rd, 1874, and the Government was sustained by a large majority.

The Lieut.-Governor had performed his last official act in connection with the Legislature, for he died on the 13th of May, 1875. He was succeeded by Hon. Donald Alexander Macdonald, brother of Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GETTING TO WORK.

A new House—A Department of Education—Rev. Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent, retires—Hon. Samuel Casey Wood, Provincial Secretary—A grist of controverted elections—Sixteen declared void—Hon. W. Macdougall in the House—Mere County Council—Macdougall and the Crown Lands Office—Bethune's compulsory electoral voting—Women's Rights, 31 yeas to 33 nays—David Creighton, Esq.—The woman with the iron jaw—Prorogation—Rockwood Asylum—Hon. Peter Gow retires—John C. Miller—Timber regulations—James Massie for South Wellington—Municipal Franchise to Women voted down—Twelve Apostles—The use of daily prayers—Third session opened—A. M. Ross moved Address—New Treasurer—The public service—Fighting the Supplies—Fraser's amendments—Meredith on reduction of Attorney-General's salary—The Speaker's salary—Clerks, messengers, and pages attacked—Mr. Hardy in the House—Committee on taxation—Vacancies and elections—Mr. Morris—Reading letter in House—The Division Court—Richard Harcourt—Simon J. Dawson.

THE new House met 24th November, 1875, and Hon. Rupert Mearse Wells was re-elected Speaker.

The topics introduced in the Speech from the Throne were numerous and varied, and were followed in the legislation of the session by useful and practical reforms.

One of the most important of these was, probably, the creation of a Department of Education, with a Minister of the Crown at its head, and on its passage the HON.

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ADAM CROOKS was called to the responsible position, and REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Superintendent of Education, was retired on a liberal continuance of his salary. The reverend gentleman was a descendant of a Loyalist family who settled in Canada from Massachusetts during the early days of the American troubles of the eighteenth century. Amidst great, if not exceptional, difficulties, he had become a close student, acquired much knowledge, and, making good use of valuable time, worked his way to the head of the educational system of the country. He had a ready and fluent tongue, an active pen and much tact, and held his own on an equality with those who grasped at similar control of public affairs. In those days there were three principal avenues to position—the bar, the pulpit, and politics. His oratorical abilities were marked, and he speedily became locally known as a man of parts. He avoided the bar, but ventured upon the sea of politics. He taught school in Middlesex and elsewhere, and acquired a standing which he retained until death. He undoubtedly did much to erect the educational system of which we so justly are proud. Of impulsive nature and a hard worker, he was constantly enlarging it, and to-day we have forgotten the political escapades which told their own story, and think of him only as the founder of the Public School system of Upper Canada. To day all men can join in sounding his praise and extolling his good qualities. He was accompanied to his grave in Toronto in 1882 by hosts of friends who had once been his political enemies, and it would be difficult now to find a single public man willing to speak a word of censure upon his career.

In the list of successful candidates again appears the name of HON. SAMUEL CASEY WOOD, who had been re-elected to the well-earned position of Provincial Secre-

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tary. A good man for active business, a fair speaker, an excellent judge of character, he appeared to hold his finger upon the pulsation of the financial and political wires, and to be able to predict and prognosticate with accuracy the probable outcome of any measure or act with which he had to do. He proved himself to be a man of foresight, and his opinion of this, that and the other always had value with those who knew him intimately. He was sworn in as Provincial Secretary and Registrar from July 25th, 1875, to March, 1877, and Treasurer of the province from the 19th of March, 1877, to 2nd of June, 1883. Since leaving politics he has held important positions in the commercial world, and in 1907, at this present writing, he is still occupied with the work for which he is so well fitted.

There was an extensive resort to the uses of the Controverted Elections Act after the then recent elections, and sixteen constituencies were declared void; and in seven of these the results sustained the candidates first returned as elected.

HON. WILLIAM MACDOUGALL had been elected for South Simcoe in place of D'Arcy Boulton, unseated. The advent of this gentleman was regarded as certain to add great strength to the Conservative party in Ontario, but this expectation was fated to be quickly dissipated. Of Mr. Macdougall's ability to serve there could be no doubt, but his career in the Assembly was disappointing. He appeared to think that the serious discussion of mere provincial matters was not the work for which Providence had designed him. He did not assume the position for which his natural talent and large experience had fitted him. He initiated nothing, and was certainly overshadowed by other leaders of the Opposition. When he spoke, his utterances did not belie

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his reputation, but they were seldom heard, and he left no strong impression upon the statutes of Ontario. To show how little he was in accord with the leaders of his newly-found allies, who seemed to have but temporarily adopted him, he spoke sneeringly of the Legislative Assembly as an enlarged county council, and although these words in themselves meant little, they indicated more than they expressed. Those, however, who had gained their first knowledge of public business in the township or county council regarded his words as a studied insult and a slight on the work so well done by what old Tories, who delighted in derision, designated as "sucking republics." His apparent disregard of Canadian interests was strongly exhibited when, upon a motion for the usual immigration grant, he moved an amendment to the effect that "in view of the depressed condition of the manufacturing industry in this province, and of the surplus labor now seeking employment in all parts of the country, it is, in the opinion of this House, inexpedient to offer any special aid in encouragement to immigrants from other countries for the year 1876, and that the resolution be referred back to the Committee of Supply with instructions to amend the same accordingly." This was evidently the work of protectionist friends rather than the innate conviction of the old-time editor of the radical *North American*. The proposed amendment was rejected, of course, but was preceded by another of similar character, and evidently of similar parentage, from Mr. Deacon, who, following the tactics of his party, expressed regret that the sum of \$50,590 should be appropriated to the uses of the Crown Lands Department for 1876, and declared that every effort should be made to curtail the expenditure of that department, and he actually secured a vote of 27 yeas to 44

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nays, Mr. Macdougall voting that the proposed sum should not be granted.

Mr. Bethune introduced a bill rendering voting at an election of a member of the Legislature compulsory, but the strong expression of an antagonistic opinion of members, upon both sides of the House, against the principle of the measure induced its mover not to proceed with its second reading.

The second reading of Bill 147, "To fix and declare the period for the annual meeting of the Legislative Assembly," having been read, Hon. C. F. Fraser took exception to the bill on the ground that it was unconstitutional and an interference with the prerogative of the Crown, and Mr. Speaker being of that opinion, the bill was withdrawn. This was evidently the only course to be pursued.

On the 26th of January, 1876, Mr. Creighton moved "That Bill 151, to enable women to vote at municipal elections, and on by-laws requiring the assent of the electors," be now read a second time. The question was not regarded as of a party character, and a division showed a wide diversity of opinion upon the matter, and gave 31 yeas to 33 nays.

Of the members supporting Mr. Creighton's motion many were Reformers, amongst whom were Currie, Hunter, Lane, McCraney, Miller, Paxton, Robinson, Sinclair, Striker, Widdifield, and Clarke (Wellington).

DAVID CREIGHTON, Esq., representative of North Grey in 1879, 1884 and 1887, occupied a position in the Conservative ranks of no mean order. He displayed great aptitude in the manipulation of figures, and could perform greater and more awe-inspiring feats with them than were ever dreamt of by a Hermann or a Blitz. Annually he tore the Budget Speech into a hundred fragments, with

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a ferocity totally unexpected in a man of so much good-humor, and invariably wound up with a declaration that the financial statement was a great myth, and that there was not a cent left of Sandfield Macdonald's millionaire surplus. It was amusing to hear and see him ruthlessly tearing off the frills from the Treasurer's prettily decorated lay figure, and convincing everybody, on his own side of the House at least, that there wasn't enough money in the Treasury to pay a single month's household expenses. His greatest oratorical feat was the gallant fight made by him in attempted destruction of Adam Crooks's Education Department Bill, wherein an effort was successfully made by the Government to set up a Minister of Education. The Leader of the Opposition regarded such a measure as infamous, and fought it to the bitter end. The weapon used was an all-night session, and somebody had to talk against time. The coming Minister of Education, deserted for a time by the Premier and his colleagues, soon wearied of his task. The "sentry go" was better to talk about than to perform, and by one o'clock in the morning the tired man on guard, compelled to remain at his post, shut his eyes in resignation and settled down into the leather-cushioned chair for a poor imitation of a peaceful slumber. The Liberal members grew sullen. The Conservatives determined to make a night of it. They did, but their exhaustible supply of ammunition was speedily being consumed, and threatened to give out. David Creighton was equal to the occasion, filled the gap with a fresh battery, and went on and on with a remarkable persistency and a still more wonderful fertility of imagination. He had, in some American newspaper, read of a fascinating Michigan school-mistress with an iron jaw, and gave her a very long and remarkably glowing introduc-

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tion. He told her biography in sections and at length, kept her at it while some of the less wakeful fell into a vigorous snore, and then went back again to her early school-days and depicted them with apparent accuracy. He called the attention of the semi-somnolent but coming Minister of Education to the advantage of having an iron jaw, even when discussing an education bill. It would be cruel to inflict upon the reader all the advantages of iron jaws for teachers and a special one for a minister. Mr. Crooks grew nervous and vexed at the Creightonian volubility, and, seeing no advantages in that, became amiable again and settled down for a sleep. But it was useless. No progress was made in committee, and it rose and the House adjourned. Revenge came in due course. The bill was read on a future evening, and Mr. Crooks became Minister of Education, but not before the well-known "March of the Cameron Men," when Mr. Cameron, Leader of the Opposition, gallantly led his followers into the lobby, and kept them there until the third reading was consummated.

The House was prorogued on the 10th of February, 1876, and it was found that in the session just closed one hundred and fourteen acts had received the Royal assent.

On the 3rd of January, 1877, the first day of the second meeting of the third Legislature, His Honor Donald A. Macdonald opened the House with a Speech from the Throne.

It was announced in it that the Commissioners had completed the consolidated statutes; that a measure would be introduced for the extension of the franchise to farmers' sons; that an extension of the Voters' List Act would be proposed; that a bill improving the qualifica-

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tion of teachers would be brought down; and that reports would be laid before the House as to the working of the law respecting the sale of fermented and spirituous liquors under the act of last session.

An announcement was made that Rockwood Asylum for the Insane, Dominion property, had been secured from the Dominion Government, and that steps were necessary to provide increased accommodation for "deaf and dumb mutes."

Once more a patient public was told that the financial differences between Ontario and Quebec had not been arranged, and that with reference to the boundary dispute another arbitration would be necessary, but that almost every document required had been procured.

Hon. Peter Gow resigned his seat, impelled thereto by failing health, and James Massie, Esq., was elected as his successor, and Gideon Striker, Esq., had been elected in the recess for the county of Prince Edward.

J. C. MILLER, Esq., moved the Address in a business-like manner, and showed himself thoroughly master of its principal topic—the extent and value of the Crown lands of the Province. He was the representative of Muskoka and Parry Sound, and had large experience combined with especial knowledge of the subject with which he dealt. He had half a dozen members as critics, but they listened to him with interest and had little or nothing to say in reply. He was as much at home in the House as he would have been in the forest, and did his utmost whenever he spoke to cultivate public knowledge of Ontario's most important asset. He suffered from weak eyesight, but had a partial equivalent in his grit, energy and determination. Ill-health deprived the province of his services.

JAMES MASSIE, Esq., from South Wellington, who

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seconded the Address, was a Reformer, a shrewd man of business, and, nevertheless, a warm politician. He was at the head of a large trade, and did much to develop the growth of the city of Guelph. He made himself useful in the Sunday School and similar institutions. Upon his retirement from politics, his appointment to the superintendency of the Central Prison gave scope for the exercise of his large working powers.

There was a good deal of contention over the estimates during this session, the Opposition moving to strike out or reduce different items. The Inspector of Division Courts was evidently regarded as an unnecessary official, as his salary and allowance for travelling expenses were attacked.

When the item for unforeseen and unprovided expenses came up, Mr. Macdougall moved that the proposed large sum of fifty thousand dollars be reduced to twenty thousand dollars, so that such a large sum might not be left to be expended at the sole discretion of the Government.

An amendment was moved to the amendment repeating the substance of the original resolution, and concluding with the words, "that the resolution be now concurred in." This was ruled out of order as precluding any further amendment. Mr. Macdougall's amendment was then put and lost on a vote of 49 to 30.

Mr. Patterson, of Essex, afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, and probably with different ideas of the fitness of things, then looked upon a School of Practical Science as uncalled for, and would have struck out the whole sum had not the friends of science interfered.

Before the close of the session the Attorney-General brought down the report of a special committee appointed to consider the propriety of the daily use of prayers at the opening of the House during each session. The

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report was favorable to such use, and the committee was further empowered to make arrangements for the offering of such prayers.

This daily reading of prayers by some clergyman of the city was maintained for one session, but discontinued in consequence of the difficulty of finding some clerical gentleman for each succeeding opening of the House. I recollect that I had the honor of first occupying the position of lay-reader when I was elected Speaker. My predecessor had conscientious scruples, the then Clerk of the House, Col. Gillmor, was disinclined, and at the request of the Premier, Sir Oliver Mowat, I consented to act, and those who have followed me in the office of Speaker have pursued the same course.

The House was prorogued on the 2nd of March, 1877, and the Royal assent was given to eighty-nine acts.

His Honor Donald Alexander Macdonald opened the third session of the third Legislature of Ontario, on the 9th of January, 1878, and took occasion to refer to a visit made by him to the northern portion of Ontario, and dwelt upon the progress of the new district, the colonization roads, and the high character of the settlements. He alluded to the success of the immigration policy of the Government. Allusion was also made to the progress of the Normal Schools, and the value of the act regulating them. He referred once more to the unsatisfactory position of the Boundary question, but there were indications of "a good time coming," although his Honor did not convey this idea in exactly that language.

A. M. Ross, of West Huron, moved the Address, which was seconded by Mr. Lane, of York, and two paragraphs having been assented to, the House adjourned.

LIEUT.-COL. A. M. ROSS entered the Legislature on the 24th of November, 1875, and had made such a favorable

impression upon the members of the House taking part in the Municipal Loan Fund Debate that he rapidly rose to a high position. He was an adept in financial matters, and had the confidence of his constituents, the general public, and the Government, and no person felt surprise when he was called to the Cabinet. He had, probably, too great a love for detail, and his budget speeches were somewhat tedious and prolix, but his hearers knew that he was concealing nothing which ought to be told, and that his financial statements were reliable. He differed somewhat from his predecessors in putting great stress upon the existence of a surplus, as proof of wise expenditure, but that opinion gradually gave way to the conviction that wise expenditure was the best proof of a good use of a comfortable surplus.

In military command the Treasurer was as much at home as in the exercise of financial skill, and his battalion, the 43rd, was a credit to him and to the patriotic sentiments of the young men of Huron.

He succeeded Hon. James Young as Provincial Treasurer, and held the office from the 2nd of November, 1883, to the 14th of June, 1899, when he was succeeded by Hon. R. Harcourt. He acted as Commissioner of Agriculture from the 2nd of November, 1883, to May, 1888.

During this session an attempt was made to open the House daily at an earlier hour than 3 p.m., but the objections made were so strong that the motion was lost. The hours from 3 o'clock in the afternoon session to the rising of the House are but a portion of the time allotted to legislative work, for the committees meet at 9 or 10 a.m. daily, and are often in session until after 1 p.m. There would be no gain, therefore, in seeking a meeting of the House itself before 3 p.m.

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In the early part of the session numerous petitions were presented praying the passage of an act to incorporate the Loyal Orange Associations East and West. On the 16th of January a bill was introduced and referred to the Committee on Private Bills, and embodying the prayer of the petition. The Committee reported on the 25th of January that the preamble of the bill was not proven, on the ground that a special enactment in the premises is not desirable or necessary. Mr. Merrick moved that the bill be referred to the Committee with instructions to report the preamble proven. The motion was lost.

Once more the question of the advisability of granting the use of the municipal franchise to women was considered and voted down. The division gave 12 yeas and 57 nays. Of the "twelve apostles of woman's rights" no less than half a score were Reformers. In a later year a similar bill became law, and women who held property in their own right were given the voting power. The two Conservatives who supported Dr. Clarke's motion were Dr. Harkin and Mr. Abram Lauder.

During this session the franchise was granted to farmers' sons.

A resolution relating to the public service was reported from Committee, which was received the 26th of February, 1878, as follows:

Resolved: That when the services of any clerk or officer connected with the public service are dispensed with, in consequence of any change in any department, or in consequence of the age or infirmity or ill-health of such officer, and not for any fault on the part of such officer, such gratuity shall be paid to him as shall be directed by Order of Council, but not exceeding one month's pay for each year of service, and in the event of the death of any such officer or clerk, while in the service

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of the Crown, such gratuity may be paid to the family of such clerk or officer.

March 4th had witnessed a close division on the reading of the order of the day for the second reading of a bill (102), "To restore to Her Majesty's subjects in Ontario the right of trial by jury in civil actions." This having been read, Mr. Macdougall moved its adoption, and the motion was lost on a division: yeas, 34; nays, 35.

There was a determined fight upon the proposed granting of supplies, but every proposition was met by amendments so skilfully drawn that the Opposition made no advance upon the Government's lines.

And here, it may be remarked, the hand of the Commissioner of Public Works was seen in the draft of nearly every amendment to the amendments proposed by members of the Opposition. His thorough knowledge of Parliamentary procedure enabled him to select the right word for every emergency, and his triumphs were due, it may be, to the fact that he was right, and largely because he had aptitude and dialectic skill beyond the ordinary. He was never more at home than when fighting votes of supply through committee. The Hon. W. R. Meredith had a similar ability, and when the two came in conflict, as they often did, the battle was one of giants, which was enjoyed heartily by the "knowing" members upon both sides of the House. If possible, Mr. Meredith was more vehement than Mr. Fraser, but neither lacked fire, energy and that intuitive ability to reach the thoughts of an opponent which makes a fluent speaker and a political man-slayer.

Another attempt was made to reduce the vote for "unforeseen and unprovided" expenditure, \$50,000, by reducing it to \$20,000, but failed, the votes being: Yeas, 17; nays, 57.

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On the 5th of March Mr. Meredith moved, seconded by Mr. Morris, on going into supply, that the item be not concurred in, but be forthwith recommitted to the Committee of Supply, with instructions to reduce the item for salary of Attorney-General and Premier from \$5,000 to \$4,500. On division the yeas were 31 and nays 45. Similar motions were made proposing reductions of salaries, and lost on twenty-four similar divisions. The Speaker did not remain unattacked. It was moved on the 7th of March, 1879, that the item of \$1,500, being the salary of the Speaker, be reduced by the sum of \$250, and another amendment was proposed reducing the grant of \$1,500 by the sum of \$500, so as to bring the amount within the provisions of the statute in that behalf. This was lost by yeas 35, nays 49. The original resolution, making the salary \$1,250, was then unanimously carried by a vote of 83 to 0.

As a result of this vote the Speaker's salary was \$1,250 per annum. For seven rather lean years Mr. Speaker who writes these lines, and who succeeded Hon. R. M. Wells, did not think himself extravagantly remunerated for giving close attention, hour after hour, to a wealth of "wise saws and modern instances," much sharp wrangling, and a continual stream of oratorical platitudes. If there were reasons for difference of opinion upon these points, there was none as to the value of the good things to which a Speaker, judging by my own feelings, was glad to listen. I should have felt cause for regret if at times I had not, perforce, to keep the Chair and so enjoyed the eloquence and valuable criticisms of such men as Oliver Mowat, M. C. Cameron, Christopher Fraser, William Meredith, and half a score of unnamed others.

Division after division followed throughout the long

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days of March 5th, 7th, 8th and 10th, many of them striving at what to-day would be laughed at as absurd. Even the small sums paid to clerks, messengers and pages were deemed worthy of attack. Whatever other sins may have led Cabinets and individual ministers astray, undue extravagance in Ontario was not one of them. A session preceding a general election is one in which, of course, much skirmishing and a few great battles may be confidently looked for, if not eagerly expected. It is the acknowledged privilege of the opponents of a Government to closely seek what they consider the weakest spots.

It is useless to declare this unfair, for it is neither more nor less than an assertion of the rights of the "Outs" for the time being, and will ever be exercised until the political millennium makes all men think alike.

During this session Mr. Hardy first appeared in the House as a member of the Ministry, he having assumed office in March, 1877, soon after the close of the last session.

DAVID D. HAY, Esq., formerly of Listowel, and more recently of Stratford, member for North Perth, was elected and took his seat on the 24th of November, 1875. He was re-elected in 1879, and gave place to George Hess, a Conservative, in 1883. Both gentlemen were afterwards appointed to office by the Governments which they had supported. Mr. Hay was a Reformer of extreme views, and was not afraid to speak out in meeting. He accompanied Lieut.-Governor D. A. Macdonald when that gentleman went up to view the lands and rocks of our northern country, pronounced it good, but did not remain there to help its settlement. He had a sense of quiet humor which he liked to share.

On the 7th of March, 1878, Royal assent was given to seventy-five acts, and the House was prorogued.

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A Committee on Taxation and Exemptions sat at intervals during the session, and considered many matters of much importance. Evidence was taken at great length and submitted to the House, but it was deemed advisable, in view of the fact that Parliament was now regarded as moribund, to delay further action, and to leave the question to be dealt with by a new Parliament. Valuable information on the subject of exemptions from taxation had been compiled by J. P. Macdonald, Esq., barrister, and was submitted to the House.

The Legislature, as it was now termed, was opened for its last session on the 9th of January, 1878, by the Hon. D. A. Macdonald, with a Speech promising little legislative work of a public character. Attention was invited once more to municipal assessment and exemption from local taxation. The controverted elections law, and the rectification of voters' lists, as well as the extension of rights of voting for school trustees, were alluded to, also an amendment to the jury law.

During the recess, the following gentlemen had resigned their seats in the Legislative Assembly: Hon. Wm. Macdougall, South Simcoe; Thos. Hodgins, West Elgin; Simon J. Dawson, Algoma; J. C. Patterson, North Essex; Hon. M. C. Cameron, East Toronto. In their places were elected W. J. Parkhill, for South Simcoe; Solomon White, North Essex; Robert A. Lyon, Algoma; David McLaws, West Elgin; Hon. Alex. Morris, East Toronto. Another new member was Richard Harcourt, Esq., for Monck, in place of Dr. Haney, who had died. The accession of HON. ALEX. MORRIS, late Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, was a valuable addition to the Conservative ranks. The honorable gentleman was elected to represent East Toronto in the bye-election of 1879, and occupied the position in 1884.

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He had a large experience in Dominion officialdom, and was a reliable authority upon points of order often arising in parliamentary debate. He took deep interest in the outcome of the various treaties formed with the Indians of the North-West, and had, probably, greater knowledge of this special subject than any other member of the Legislative Assembly. He was a diplomatic speaker, avoided the antagonisms so often witnessed in legislative halls, and was punctilious in his observance of the little courtesies which distinguish the cultured man from the rough-and-ready democrat so frequently met with in Western life. He had occupied the governor's chair in Manitoba, and had done good service in reducing to practice the working out of the many little intricacies developed in the daily life of such a position as that which he had the honor to occupy. He was specially and justly proud of the negotiations conducted by him during the parliamentary troubles previous to the Confederation of 1867, when he brought about reconciliation between John A. Macdonald and George Brown, which ended in an understanding, followed by the great measure of Confederation. His intercourse with members of the House was of the most pleasant character, and his aid, at times when party questions were set aside, was warmly acknowledged and highly valued by the Government.

The House sent a message of regret to Her Majesty, expressive of its deep sorrow at the death of Princess Alice, and a declaration of the earnest hope that in this and all other trials and difficulties Her Majesty might be called upon to bear, she would be supported by the consolations of a Christian faith.

Addresses by the House were the order of the day. One of congratulation was forwarded to His Excellency

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the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General, and successor to the Earl of Dufferin.

Another address was forwarded to the Earl of Dufferin upon his departure from Canada, and assuring him of the hope of the people of Ontario that he might ever look back upon his term of office in Canada with feelings of unmixed happiness and satisfaction.

After the opening of the House many petitions were received praying the incorporation of the Loyal Orange Association of Eastern and Western Ontario, and many others with a similar prayer were presented during the session.

Mr. Clarke (Wellington) reported from the Committee of Supply that Mr. Bell, West Toronto, having proposed to the Committee to read a letter or portion of a letter upon his own responsibility as to its contents, Mr. Bethune objected, for the following reasons: That no member of the House has a right to read a letter unless prepared to read the whole of the document and so place the House in possession of the whole of the said letter, including the signature, and that the Chairman having ruled against the objection, the Committee had appealed to the House against this decision, and a debate having arisen, it was adjourned until the next day. On the 19th of February the order of the day for resuming the debate relating to the appeal to the House from the Committee of the Whole House, on the 18th inst., having been read, the debate was resumed, and, after some time, the decision of the Chairman, Mr. Clarke (Wellington), was sustained by the House. The Speaker, the Attorney-General, Mr. Bethune and others expressed themselves as favorable to this view, as reference to the journals of the British House of Commons had sustained it.

A bill having come up for a second reading "to amend

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the Division Courts Act," and favoring the extension of the system, the nays were 35 and the yeas 38.

The original motion was so amended as to embody a resolution declaring that any extension of the jurisdiction of the Division Courts would be at the expense of the smaller suitors, who would have to give longer time than hitherto in attendance, as the larger sums to be considered would lead to extension of time in attendance, and it was therefore inadvisable to proceed with the consideration of the bill until time had been given for further discussion of the matter.

RICHARD HARCOURT, Esq., entered the House in 1879 as member for Monck, on the death of Dr. Haney, and has retained his seat continuously during the various Legislatures from that time until the present writing. He filled the position of Treasurer of the province from 1890 to October, 1899, and of Minister of Education from 1899 to the close of the Ross Administration. Mr. Harcourt is, undoubtedly, the most finished speaker in the House since the death of Hon. Christopher Fraser, and, omitting the addresses delivered by the Hon. G. W. Ross, his diction is not inferior to that of any orator in Canada; and in his statement of facts, his exposition of a budget, the elucidation of some doubtful legal point, or an impassioned appeal to the higher convictions of his audience, he is not surpassed, nay, not even approached, let me modestly assert, by any man in Ontario. He has a fault, difficult to overcome, and yet detracting from the effectiveness and value of some of his addresses; he over-emphasizes what he has to say, and elaborates too closely the points which he seeks to make. His administrative faculties are naturally great, and the good work done by him in educational matters will stand to his credit for years to come. He is neither

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a smatterer nor a sloven, and he has always had a clear conception of the great work before him. It is only now that the extent of his foresightedness is making apparent the true value of his efforts.

Among the members who came or went during this period may be noticed :

ANDREW BRODER, Esq., who represented Dundas and occupied no mean position in the Conservative party. He was known as "The Butter King" in Dundas, and had much to do in shaping the politics of his section of country, for his business was extensive and constantly brought him into contact with large numbers of agriculturists. He spoke fluently, and was much in request in Eastern Ontario as an advocate of Conservative candidates.

LEWIS WIGLE, Esq., was member for South Essex in the third Legislative Assembly, succeeding his father in the representation of the constituency. He was a permissible joker, for he said many good things when mounted on "the stump," and studied his people with a keen outlook for their suffrages.

JOHN BARR, Esq., M.D., was elected member for Dufferin in 1875, and has represented that county in Assembly or Dominion nearly the whole period between then and now. He understands the art of catching votes, and as his constituency is made up of Conservative townships and the Conservative town of Orangeville, the election ends, as a matter of course, in the return of one or other of the Conservative candidates. The only hope of a change is in the prospect of a quarrel between contending Conservatives, and as party discipline is strict, and all patronage controlled by one man, the constituency is not likely to depart from its allegiance. Just now, Dr. Barr is serving in the House of Commons, and it is safe to say

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no long debate reaches a conclusion until the member for Dufferin has had his say and declared what "under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker," ought to be done.

ROBERT BELL, Esq., was member for West Toronto, and entered the House in 1877, retaining his position at the next general election. He was a leading Orangeman and took deep interest in all questions involving Separate Schools, and it was in connection with a bill seeking to introduce the ballot for Separate School elections that Mr. Bell wished to read the letter or portion of letter to which Mr. Bethune objected, as I have previously noticed.

HON. J. C. PATTERSON represented West Essex in the second Legislature, and was highly popular. He afterwards occupied a seat in the Commons, and was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba. He spoke with slight hesitation, but had a clear knowledge of Canadian politics, and was a warm advocate of Conservative principles.

JAMES H. HUNTER, Esq., was the representative of South Grey in the third and following Legislatures. He was a successful merchant, and made large purchases of lands with other parties in the neighborhood of Toronto Junction. It is said that he lost his seat by the delivery of a lecture descriptive of Hallowe'en observance and customs. He had a large German element in his constituency, and in this lecture ascribed to the Germans certain rites in connection with the festival, which, repeated and exaggerated, cost him the support of this section of his people. Not only did Mr. Hunter lose their votes, but at every recurring election the story is retold, to the disadvantage of the Reform candidate. On such trifles do great issues turn.

JOSEPH WIDDIFIELD, Esq., member for North York, was one of the most popular in a House of popular men. For some years he acted as whip, and his services in that

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capacity were so much appreciated that on his retirement from the position he was made the recipient of a very handsome silver tea service, although a hopeless bachelor and supposed to possess a soul above such vanities. He was one of the lucky men who are pursued by good fortune, and became sheriff of the large and important County of York, but death loves a shining mark, and Mr. Widdifield passed away at a comparatively early age.

SOLOMON WHITE, Esq., succeeded Hon. J. C. Patterson in the representation of Essex. As a lawyer, Mr. White was in a position to become popular, and was associated with the interests of Essex from the days of Colonel Prince down to the present time. He represented his constituency from 1879 to 1887. He was helped materially by his knowledge of the French language, largely spoken in Essex. His camaraderie was marked and made numerous friends.

JAMES M. FERRIS, Esq., of Irish descent, was M.P.P. for East Northumberland in 1875. He had filled offices from the wardenship down, during his residence in Campbellford, and was highly popular. He was an active man in his constituency, drove a successful business, and had a thorough knowledge of municipal matters. He had such financial ability that he was at one time spoken of as a probable Provincial Treasurer, but felt that his private business required his close personal attention.

SYLVESTER NEELON, Esq., was first elected to the Legislature from Lincoln in 1875, and was re-elected in 1879 and 1883. With vague ideas of party fealty under a system of responsible government, he was never a partisan, and as likely to vote against as with a Government. His proclivities were toward Conservatism, but he did not always reach the point to which he seemed to

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be going. As the owner of numerous vessels, and the conductor of large milling properties, he was necessarily a shrewd man of action, and held the confidence of many leading men in the old Niagara district.

KENNETH CHISHOLM, Esq., sat first for Peel in the Legislature meeting the 24th of November, 1875. He was re-elected and sat in the Legislatures of 1879, 1884, 1887, 1891, and was succeeded by JOHN SMITH, who yet occupies the position of woman's rights advocate, and is as attentive to the discharge of his duties as is the youngest man in the House.

W. W. HARGRAFT, Esq., sat for East Northumberland in 1875. He was in one Legislature only, but became well known as a practical supporter of the Government. When the discussion as to the necessity for new Parliament Buildings was on, and it was urged that the old buildings would do "well enough," Mr. Hargraft was seen one day busily working at his desk with an umbrella raised over him to keep off the rain which was making its way through the ceiling above where he sat. He furnished a tangible argument of which the Commissioner of Public Works was not slow to take advantage.

JOHN FLEMING, Esq., was born in Scotland, and upon emigrating and reaching Canada settled in the prosperous town of Galt, and was one of its leading men. He was a Reformer in politics, and held important municipal positions for many years. He represented South Waterloo from November, 1875, until 1878, when failing health caused him to resign. A modest, well-read man, he had in him all the elements of public usefulness, and his early death cut short a valuable life.

WILLIAM THOMAS LONG, Esq., elected Conservative member for North Simcoe in 1875, was Irish by birth, and came to Canada in 1850, and engaged in mercantile

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affairs at Collingwood. He was largely interested in shipping, and has always been a consistent Conservative. He was a speaker of rather more than average ability, and always prepared himself thoroughly before addressing the House.

JOHN WATTERWORTH, Esq., was first elected for West Middlesex in 1875, and again in 1880. He was a reliable supporter of his party, and voted for every Reform measure.

SIMON J. DAWSON, Esq., was elected member for Algoma in 1875. As a legislator he was a man of one idea—the development of the North-West—and he soon discovered that there was little to be gained in the Ontario Legislature as a field of operations. To be in touch with the Dominion Government seemed a prime necessity, and Mr. Dawson did not complete one Parliament as an Ontario representative. While he was in the House it was my good fortune to occupy a seat at the desk adjoining his, and to hear many interesting things of what was then a comparatively unknown country. From 1850 he had been associated, either through private enterprise or in an official capacity, with the regions beyond Lake Superior. In 1868 he was entrusted with the commencement of the construction of the route to Red River, now known as the “Dawson route,” and in 1870 he succeeded in putting through the expeditionary force under Col. Garnet Wolseley.

CHAPTER XIX.

AN EXCEPTIONAL TRIO.

SIR OLIVER MOWAT.—To attempt a biographical sketch of Sir Oliver Mowat would, in the face of Mr. Biggar's admirable Life of the late Premier and Lieut.-Governor, be superfluous. To say that he was born in Kingston, on the 22nd of July, 1820; member of the Brown-Dorion Administration from 1858 to 1864; Premier of Ontario from 1872 to 1896; Lieut.-Governor of the province of Ontario from 1897 to 1903, when he died, is to give the main features of his life in epitome. An honest man and earnest worker, a warm heart, and you have said of him in brief all that could be added *in extenso*. He was not only an administrator; he had all the best qualities of the originator, and brought about legal changes because he believed them called for, and when he did venture upon making them, he sustained his action by cogent reasoning, the convictions arising from long experience, and the advice and co-operation by suggestion of his trusted friends. He was a law-maker by and for the people. It was said of him that he was never idle during his waking moments, and that he thought out some needed reform even in his hours of rest. He had a Scotsman's cautious care in every forward step, and a Canadian's love of progress while making it. And while he adhered, even stubbornly, to a well-founded and matured opinion, he was never above learning from the most humble sources.

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He kept an open mind until all available information had been secured, and then made his decision. He was human enough, probably, to prefer the man who easily fell in with his views to the uncertain or sometimes unmanageable follower. It may be that the word "expediency" was not altogether banished from his lexicon, and that he occasionally found it necessary to study his fellow-men with a view to their weaknesses. The day has not yet arrived, however desirable its advent, when complete detachment from these sources of power may be the constant attitude of any Canadian premier. Privately, Mr. Mowat was charitable and kind; publicly, he never withheld the public aid when his judgment told him that it was requisite for the purposes of charity. He was as economical of public funds as he was of his own, and nobody was able to say that he had extravagantly misused for party purposes that which truly belonged to the province alone.

In my last chapter I have given a brief summing-up of the work done by him through his legislative and administrative career, and need not repeat here what is so well known by all Canadian citizens who have knowledge of his public doings, that he always meant to do well, and generally, if not always, did as well as man could.

CHRISTOPHER FINLAY FRASER.—Upper Canada has found her greatest strength in her self-made men, from whatever position they may have sprung. Her law-makers, divines, judges, teachers, merchants, engineers, her doctors, her contractors, her editors, have come from her brainy citizens who, taking advantage of opportunity, and already braced by contact with the world, have found the top which is ever waiting

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for the fit occupant. Her Edisons, her Bells, her pre-eminent hundreds of others, talented and courageous, have come largely from the farm, the railway, or the workshop, and their well-directed energy has been the means to the end. Turn to the roll-call of the best-known Canadians, who have taken front rank simply because of the development of their native powers, and you will find it bristling with the names of the country lads who have worked their way from the rural home to the apex formed of our best and brightest.

Among the most widely-known names is that of Christopher Finlay Fraser, of Brockville, who worked from the position of printer's devil to that of the Commissioner of Public Works for Ontario, and whose best monument is the Parliament Buildings in Queen's Park, in the Queen City, the substantial and economical erection of which he so closely watched.

Born in Brockville in 1838, he was called to the Bar in 1865, and was a candidate for his native town at the first provincial elections in 1867, but was defeated. He was elected for South Grenville in 1872, but was unseated, to be re-elected later in the year; and on his appointment as a member of the Executive Council of Ontario, on the 25th of November, 1873, he was returned by acclamation. He served as Provincial Secretary until April, 1874, when he became Commissioner of Public Works. He was devoted to the duties of his office, and for about twenty years was present at every session of the Legislature except one, which his ill-health forced him to pass in Colorado, and, subsequently, declining health compelled the resignation of his position in the Ontario cabinet at a comparatively early age.

There are few men, even with a Mowat at their head, who have left parliamentary life with so firm a hold

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upon the regard and high respect of their supporters, and, had he lived a few years longer, he would have reached the premiership, to which he would undoubtedly have succeeded when Sir Oliver Mowat was induced to take office in the Dominion Government. He had clear judgment, while his Highland blood gave him fire, courage and intellectual energy, and his lucid reasoning and logical mind distinguished him in a legislature which had many strong men seated upon either side. He was never caught napping, nor could he be diverted or thrown off his balance by interjectory remarks. His sarcasm was dreaded, but his utterances were more often convincing than caustic, and he never rose to speak without securing and holding the attention of his listeners. His index finger accented his speech, and when he outstretched it and directed it significantly to some point, or, perhaps, to some person in his audience, it was full of meaning to the crowds who filled the galleries if a speech "from Fraser" was expected. His speech in opposition to the bill seeking to incorporate the Orange body was as memorable to his hearers as was that burst of declamation in which Blake indulged when he inquired, at the time of the fall of the Sandfield Macdonald Cabinet, whether a policeman would be required to drag the defeated ministers from their seats. That Mr. Fraser carefully prepared the matter and form of his greatest speeches on special occasions was but a proper compliment to his listeners, but he never laboriously committed to memory the mere words of a speech. He had a full command of the technical terms of parliamentary usages, and his impromptu amendments were the perfection of resourcefulness. On a motion to adjourn, when speakers are limited to ten minutes, he could effectively cover more ground than any other to whom I have listened in

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the Legislature. He was a fair opponent, but a hard hitter, and knew but little of good-nature when aroused to the rough exigencies of fierce debate. He struck from the shoulder when blows were given, and in a fight was not merely "sparring" with an opponent. His special antipathy was an Orangeman, although he might like him as an Irishman and respect him as an industrious citizen. He had been a victim in the attack made by a so-called Protestant, but not church-going, mob upon the Catholics of Toronto when they marched in procession, one Sunday afternoon, from church to church. His arm was struck by a heavy stone, a missile from the crowd, and the contusion gave him trouble for some time thereafter.

When Mr. Fraser felt himself unable longer to continue to perform the exacting duties of his Department, he was offered, and accepted, the position of Inspector of Registry Offices, the work of which involved travel and assured the open-air life considered requisite to his health. His tenure of the office was brief, for, returning from his first inspection tour in the New Ontario region to his chambers in Toronto, he retired exhausted, although in good spirits, and was found dead in his room on the following morning.

HON. ARTHUR STURGIS HARDY was elected to the Local Legislature, and took his seat as member for South Brant on 8th of January, 1874, on the same day that C. F. Fraser came in from South Grenville. Mr. Hardy was appointed Provincial Secretary on the 19th of March, 1877, and held the office until January, 1889, when he became Commissioner of Crown Lands, and was in that position until July, 1896. Then he saw another promotion, for he succeeded Sir Oliver Mowat as

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Premier and Attorney-General. In 1899 the uncertain health against which he had fought for some time caused him to retire from public life.

Mr. Hardy's advancements were rapid and deserved. As a caustic, witty, and reasoning politician he was not at any time surpassed by the leaders of either party. While deficient in some of the traits so prominent in Attorney-General Mowat, he was more attractive in his elocutionary and oratorical efforts. He spoke best, probably, after preparation, but very effectively on the spur of the moment. Possessing an undoubted touch of the histrionic, he was full of anecdote, was a clever mimic, and had a ready memory for apt illustrations. Impulsive in temperament, he possibly left something to chance, and did not look at all sides of a question or study the end from the beginning so carefully as his leader, but in his Departments—and he went nearly the round of them—he had splendid business aptitude, and occasional explosions of irascibility, which passed as quickly as they came. After his withdrawal from the Legislature, Mr. Hardy filled an office at Osgoode Hall. His health seemed to improve, but he died early from the effects of appendicitis and was much regretted by all who knew him intimately.

CHAPTER XX.

STREAMS BILLS AND BOUNDARIES.

General election, 1879—Reports of Judges—Lieutenant-Governor's Speech—New buildings projected—Special Railway Committee—James Young, chairman—Able report—Overhead bridges—Timber dues—Northern trip of Lieutenant-Governor—Prorogation—Second session—The Speech—Address, Gibson and Dryden—Third session—Rivers and Streams Bill—Arbitration—Boundaries—Two sessions in one year—House dissolved in 1883—New Legislature, 23rd January, 1884—Authority to legislate *re* liquor traffic—Provincial control of railways imperilled—Hon. Adam Crooks—G. W. Ross called in—The bribery case—Some notable representatives.

THE third Legislature had been dissolved soon after the close of its fourth session, and the elections were held on the 5th of June, 1879, when the Government was again sustained. The next meeting of the House was fixed for the 7th of January, 1880, when Hon. D. A. Macdonald presided for the last time, and Charles Clarke, M.P.P. for Centre Wellington, was appointed Speaker. The reports of judges for the trial of election petitions showed vacancies in several constituencies, for which elections had been or would be held, and the following gentlemen, whose constituencies had been involved, took their seats during the session: James H. Hunter, Thomas Murray, Thomas Paxton, Samuel I. Peck, William Jelly, Joseph Kerr, and Alex. Robertson.

The Governor's Speech referred to an official visit

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which His Honor had made to the Thunder Bay District, lying between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods, and said there was reason to believe this visit was not without public advantage. The existence of gold deposits in the islands of the Lake of the Woods had attracted much attention, and was likely to lead to an influx of population which might make necessary additional measures for the preservation of order. The seemingly endless series of annual references was continued, and gave a dim prospect of being concluded in "our next." A remodelling of the Reformatory for Boys at Penetanguishene was suggested, and the Ontario Agricultural College was declared to have been so far such a success as to justify legislation providing for its permanent management.

The waste of pine timber, in consequence of the free grant, was referred to. Amongst other matters to which attention was directly called, was the necessity for the erection of new public buildings for legislative and departmental purposes. The value of the present site for commercial purposes would materially reduce the cost of the new structure, while the price of material and labor was now favorable for such undertakings.

The Speech concluded with an expression of the hope that in the last session of the Legislative Assembly during which the Lieut.-Governor was likely to occupy his position, the work might be of so permanent and useful a character as to leave in the minds of all engaged in or identified with it a feeling of true and lasting satisfaction.

The Address in reply was moved by Mr. McLaughlin, and seconded by Mr. Waters, and was carried at the same sitting, the House adjourning before six o'clock, a good beginning, surely, but seldom if ever repeated.

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Early in the session a select committee was appointed to inquire into the subject of frequent accidents to men employed on railways, and means by which such dangers might be decreased. The committee was under the chairmanship of Hon. James Young, and prepared an excellent report, which, although not exhaustive, made recommendations of great value. They were, briefly told:

(1) That all overhead bridges should be built so as to have a clear space of at least seven feet from the top of the highest freight car to the lowest member of the bridge above.

(2) That the running board upon freight cars should be as nearly flush with roof of car as possible, and not less than from twenty-four to thirty inches wide, and extend as far as the dead-wood of the car will safely admit, so as to leave as little space as possible between the ends of the running board on each car, and also that a hand-rail should be placed along the side of the running board, to be not less than thirty inches in height.

(3) The Committee had looked carefully into the question of automatic couplers for freight cars, and while not making any positive recommendation, "would suggest whether in view of the great loss of life and injury to brakemen in coupling cars, it is not desirable that the adoption of automatic couplers should be made compulsory upon Canadian railway companies."

(4) That all frogs and wing rails on railways should be filled in with wood.

On the 23rd of January, Mr. Creighton, one of the most industrious members sitting on the left of the Speaker, moved that members of the House appointed to the standing committees do remain thereon during the continuance of that Parliament. This would seem, on the face of it, a suitable suggestion, but every session brings

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changes, and any hard and fast rule might prevent the presence on a committee of some new member who had special fitness. It would tend, also, to the lessening of governmental control and responsibility. The motion was lost on division.

Temperance, Toronto, and Timber appear to have been amongst the most prominent matters discussed by the Assembly during its annual sessions, and even yet the trio claim a large share of attention. Timber seems likely to demand legislation for a quarter of a century at least; Temperance is not within measurable reach of finality; and Toronto, like Tennyson's "Brook," goes on forever.

In February, as the result of a bye-election, Alexander Robertson took his seat as member for West Hastings. On February 13th, the House went into Committee of the Whole on a proposed resolution relating to the Free Grants and Homestead Act, and when the motion for a second reading was put, Mr. Meredith moved "that the resolution be not now concurred in, but that it be

*"Resolved,—*That it is not expedient to interfere with the existing law, giving to the settlers in the Free Grant Districts the pine timber remaining on their lands at the time of the issuing of the patent thereof."

This amendment was lost on a vote of 21 to 43. The motion was put and carried, and it was

*Resolved,—*That the patentee, his heirs or assigns, of land hereafter located or sold under the Free Grants and Homestead Act shall be entitled to be paid out of the consolidated revenue of the province on all pine trees cut on such land, subsequent to the 30th day of April next after the date of the patent, and upon which dues have been collected by the Crown, the sum of twenty-five cents on each thousand feet board measure of saw logs,

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and three dollars on each thousand feet of square or waney timber.

During this month the Municipal Committee reported against the provisions of nineteen bills to amend the Municipal Act, and also reported seven others which they had amended. A bill embodying these was then introduced.

On the 23rd of February resolutions were brought down declaring it expedient that new buildings should be provided for the proper and needful accommodation of the Provincial Legislature and public departments; and setting apart a sum not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars from surplus funds, and certain specified lands in Queen's Park, in Toronto, and the lands upon which the then Parliament Buildings were situated; all moneys applied to form the fund to be known as "The Parliament Buildings Construction Fund, 1880."

When Mr. Fraser moved the bill to Committee, Mr. Meredith moved in amendment "that while this House is prepared to assent to the appropriation of such reasonable sum as may be required for the protection from fire of the records of the Crown Lands Department, it is of opinion that no sufficient reason exists for incurring at the present time the large expenditure involved in the erection of new Parliament and Departmental Buildings, and that an opportunity should be afforded to the electors of pronouncing upon the question before the province is committed to so large an expenditure, and to that end, that the consideration of the question should be postponed until after the next general election."

It was after midnight before a division was reached, and the amendment was defeated by a vote of 25 to 55, the Toronto supporters of Mr. Meredith voting with the Government.

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In the opening Speech the Lieut.-Governor had referred to a trip he had taken to the northern territory during the recess. Five years before he had visited the portions adjacent to old Ontario, but this later journey had been more extended, and had taken him and his party as far afield as Winnipeg. Accompanying His Honor had been a member of the Government, a member of the Assembly, the Clerk of the House, an inspector of public institutions, and a small staff of attendants, canoemen, etc. The Governor had attended some functions on the way, and extended hospitalities in return which, necessarily, were not of ostentatious or extravagant character. The total expenditure had been \$5,571 from Toronto through to the Winnipeg of those days, covering means of conveyance, travelling charges, presents to Indians, camping supplies, etc. The trip, which was expected to cover eight days, actually occupied fourteen, and additional supplies were necessary, increasing the cost of the expedition. There was an item at Winnipeg of \$1,684, and this included railway fares, return trips for the party of whites and Indians. There were seven canoes and thirty-one voyageurs who went through to Winnipeg.

From the evidence of Colonel Gillmor, Clerk of the House, and paymaster of this expedition, given before a special Committee of Inquiry, it appeared that, during the Administration of Hon. J. S. Macdonald, a trip on the *Chicora* on the northern lakes, taking members of Parliament and others, but without a Lieut.-Governor or Premier, and occupying twelve days, had been undertaken at a cost to the province of \$4,172. This jaunt was under the control of Hon. John Carling, and Colonel Gillmor declared he had, in preparing for the recent trip, been to a considerable extent guided by the experi-

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ences in connection with the *Chicora* expedition. The arrangements had been left to him. He provided what he thought proper; not a single farthing more was spent for refreshments than he would have spent had he been taking the party out himself. Therefore, there was no extravagance. This was conclusive, but did not satisfy everybody, for Mr. Lauder moved that the accounts in connection with the above trip be inserted in the minutes, and, after a lengthy discussion, the motion was adopted.

There was an item for corkscrews, and the travellers were referred to as the "Corkscrew Brigade," while much merriment was occasioned by someone sending to D. D. Hay, Esq., to his seat in the House, a bottle of Apollinaris with a corkscrew attached, and declared to have been found on the site of a camp used by the expedition. This discussion was, as might be supposed, very annoying to the Lieut.-Governor, who requested to be allowed to reimburse the public treasury to the extent of three hundred and fifty dollars, which he considered a liberal estimate of his purely personal expenses, and when the resolution covering the cost of the trip came up in the House, Mr. Widdifield, a warm supporter of the Government, moved an amendment covering the ground. Strange to say, the Opposition resumed the debate by discussing Mr. Widdifield's proposal, and it was finally resolved, on a division of 54 yeas to 25 nays, a straight party vote: "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair, and this House, desiring to comply with the expressed wish of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor in that behalf, directs the Committee of Supply to reduce the proposed item of \$5,571.22 for the payment *re* visit of His Honor to the North-West, etc., by the sum of three hundred and fifty dollars, which last-mentioned sum appears to be more

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than sufficient to cover any of the said expenses that might be considered personal."

In Committee the change in amount was made, and the Lieut.-Governor, doubtless, was happy to be allowed to "pay his way" in pursuit of knowledge of the remote regions of this his province. It is notable that in the printed vote in the journals, the next item is one for expenses of a visit of His Excellency the Governor-General to Ontario, amounting to \$6,753—a liberal but not extraordinary amount for such a purpose.

The House took action upon several measures of importance during the few remaining days of the session. The sum of \$30,000 was placed in the hands of the Senate of the University as compensation for a building in Queen's Park which stood in the way of the projected new Parliament Buildings, the money to be used for effecting needed improvements in the University; a proposition to make changes in the Division Courts Act was withdrawn; the House was divided upon the resolution of a grant of money for immigration purposes; a condemnation of the railway policy of the Government was rejected; a reported settlement of the Boundary question was approved, but one member, Mr. Miller, voting against it, the division showing 64 yeas to 1 nay; resolutions proposed by Mr. Meredith protesting against the exemption from taxes of gas works, water works, plank or gravel roads, harbors or other works requiring the investment of the whole or principal part of their means in real estate, were refused by a vote of 38 to 15.

On 5th of March the House was prorogued after assent had been given to eighty-four acts.

The second session of the fourth Legislature was opened by the Hon. John Beverley Robinson on the 13th of January, 1881.

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The Speech dealt with the Boundary matter as still an open issue between the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and a regret was expressed that delayed action interfered with the settlement and organization of a large section of country. The completion of railway connection between the existing system of Ontario and the Canadian Pacific Railway was alluded to as of pressing importance. The report upon agricultural and other matters, and the construction of Parliament Buildings, and completion of plans therefor, were placed prominently before the members of the House.

The Address was moved by J. M. GIBSON, Esq., of Hamilton, seconded by JOHN DRYDEN, Esq., and was adopted by the House after debate, on January 18th, without amendment. The expression of the opinions of members was almost unanimous in its condemnation of unjustifiable delays upon the Boundary question, which had become of serious import, and there was an expressed desire everywhere on both sides of the House for prompt and immediate action.

Another Orange Incorporation Bill was introduced this year, and, of course, as on former manifestations of its existence, caused considerable discussion and some warm feelings.

Mr. Solomon White (Essex) moved, seconded by Mr. Baskerville, that "inasmuch as the Act respecting the Benevolent, Provident and other Societies, passed in 1874, contains provisions which were intended to enable, and will enable the Loyal Orange Association to obtain all the privileges sought to be obtained by the special proposed Act of Incorporation, it is inexpedient that bill (No. 5) to incorporate the Loyal Orange Incorporation of Eastern and Western Ontario pass into law.

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This amendment was lost by a vote of 3 yeas—Baskerville, MacMaster, and White—and 71 nays.

The original motion for a second reading was defeated by 19 yeas against 56 nays.

Additional railway grants were brought down as recommended, and a bill was introduced to give increased efficiency to the law against the illicit sale of intoxicating liquors.

On the 3rd of March, 1881, resolutions were introduced relative to the northerly and western boundaries of the province, and declaring that neglect in the matter is seriously delaying the establishment of good government in that section, and that it is the right of the Government of Ontario to assert and maintain the just claims and rights of the Province of Ontario as determined by the award of the arbitrators; and this House hereby reaffirms its determination to give its cordial support to the Government of Canada in any steps it may take necessary to sustain the award and to assert it, and maintain the just claims and right of the province as thereby declared and determined. Yeas, 75; nays, 1—Mr. Baskerville, of Ottawa.

On the same day, March 3rd, 1881, on the Order of the Day for the third reading of Bill 102, for protecting the public interest in rivers, streams, and creeks, Mr. Meredith moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. Morris: That while this House is willing to pass such enactments for the protection of rivers, streams, and creeks, it is of opinion that the bill is calculated to interfere with important private interests without making adequate compensation to such interference, and is, therefore, opposed to sound principles of legislation, and calculated to form a dangerous precedent, and ought not, as now framed, to become law.

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The amendment having been put, it was lost by a vote of yeas, 23; nays, 56, and the bill was read a third time.

Several railway grants were passed, opposition having been made to the Erie and Huron Railway, and Georgian Bay and Wellington Railway.

On the 4th of March His Honor Lieut.-Governor John Beverley Robinson prorogued the House after assenting to ninety-one acts.

On the 12th of January, 1882, the third session of the fourth Legislature began. Realizing what an unfitting background for a function of any pretensions the shabby old chamber afforded, Mrs. Robinson, wife of the Lieut.-Governor, had requested that the windows might be draped and the gas lighted, as was done at Ottawa, but the democratic spirit of Mowat and Fraser took alarm, and this harmless attempt to turn day into night was gently but firmly resisted.

The Speech from the Throne began by alluding to the increase of population in the province during the last decade, and expressing regret that the award of arbitrators on the extension of our territory is "still disputed by the Federal Government." He regretted, also, to inform the House of the disallowance of the Act of last session for protecting the public interest in rivers, streams, and creeks. He congratulated the House on the fact that the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had set at rest all question as to the right of the Provincial Legislature to legislate, as our interest may require, on matters of internal trade, and especially of the law of insurance. A bill respecting market fees was promised. There would, too, be bills dealing with line fences, ditches, and water courses. Several other measures, small in themselves, but tending to the increase

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of public safety, health and comfort, were foreshadowed. We have here a programme fairly representative of the great matters and small which give occupation to a Legislature, and who shall be wise enough to say which are the more important in the daily life of the people of the province?

New members were introduced. Albert Hagar had been elected for the County of Prescott; Frank Madill for North Ontario; Elias W. B. Snider for North Waterloo; Charles Henry Brereton for East Durham, and Robert Kincaid for West Peterborough.

The Address was moved by Mr. D. D. Hay, and seconded by Mr. Robinson, of Cardwell, and was the usual "echo."

On the reading of the third paragraph Mr. Meredith proposed to strike it out and substitute the following: "That while we regret the delay which has occurred in the final settlement of the northerly and westerly boundaries of the province, and while we are prepared at all times to maintain by all lawful and constitutional means its territorial and other rights, we deprecate the taking of any course which is calculated to disturb the peace of the Dominion, and we desire to express our regret that your Honor's advisers have not taken the only lawful and constitutional means which, in the absence of the approval of the award by the Parliament of Canada, are open for the determination of the question in reference to such boundaries."

Mr. Sinclair moved in amendment to the proposed amendment, seconded by Mr. Hagar, that all after the first word "that" be struck out, and in lieu thereof there be inserted these words: "that part of the original resolution under consideration by the House be amended by adding thereto the words following: 'And we avail

ourselves of this, the earliest opportunity at the present session, to reiterate our determination to give our cordial support to any steps which may be necessary for ascertaining and maintaining the just claims and rights of Ontario, as by the said award found and determined; and in the name of the people of Ontario we emphatically insist that any absence of prior legislation on the part of the Dominion to give effect to the conclusions which should be arrived at by the arbitrators can neither justify nor excuse the action of the Dominion authorities in now repudiating the said award, and refusing to give Ontario her just rights.'” The amendment to the amendment was carried by 54 yeas to 26 nays.

The fourth paragraph in the Speech, relating to the Streams Bill, having been read, Mr. Morris moved in amendment that all the words be struck out and the following words substituted therefor: “That we represent to His Honor that the Act of last session for protecting the public interest in rivers, streams and creeks was contrary to constitutional usage and precedent, and in violation of the rights of private property and of natural justice, and that the same having been disallowed in the exercise of the power of disallowance which, under the British North America Act, is vested in the Governor-General of Canada, acting under the advice of His Excellency’s Ministers, who are responsible to the Parliament and people of Canada for the action of the Governor-General in exercising or abstaining from the exercise of such power, we, while prepared to assert and defend our constitutional rights with regard to all matters of provincial jurisdiction, as defined by the British North America Act, do not regard the disallowance of the Act in question as any invasion of those rights.”

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Mr. Harcourt moved in amendment to the proposed amendment, seconded by Mr. Murray, that all the words after the first word "that" in the amendment be struck out, and that in lieu thereof there be inserted these words: "that part of the original resolution now under consideration by this House be amended by adding thereto the following: 'That we take this occasion to declare not only that we will, by all proper means, resist and oppose every encroachment and attack upon the constitutional rights of this province, but that in our judgment the constitution would not survive the wrench that would be given to it if the Dominion Government assumed to dictate the policy or question the action of the Legislatures of the different provinces on subjects reserved by the British North America Act to these Legislatures.'"

This amendment was carried by 50 yeas to 24 nays. The remaining resolutions were agreed to, and the Address was presented in the usual manner.

Another attempt to extend the jurisdiction of the Division Courts was defeated.

The Government lost no time in proceeding to assert the rights of the Legislature by re-enacting the bill for protecting the public interest in rivers, streams, and creeks, and when this bill (82) came up for third reading, on the 2nd of March, 1882, Mr. Meredith moved in amendment: "That while this House is willing to pass such enactment as may be necessary for the protection of the public interest in rivers, streams, and creeks, it is of opinion that the bill is calculated to interfere with important private interests without making adequate compensation for such interference, and is, therefore, opposed to sound principles of legislation, and calculated

to form a dangerous precedent, and ought not, as now framed, to become law." Yeas, 27; nays, 49.

An address was passed, and forwarded through the proper channels to Her Majesty, expressing the sense of profound gratitude this House felt on hearing of Her Majesty's recent providential escape from injury at the hands of an assassin.

On the order of the day for the second reading of a bill to amend the Public and Separate Schools Act, Mr. Fraser moved, seconded by Mr. Hardy, that the bill be not now read a second time, but read this day six months. Yeas, 50; nays, 13.

The Attorney-General introduced a series of resolutions in vigorous and unmistakable terms, condemning the inaction of the Dominion Government relative to and declaring the rights of the province to the territory awarded to it by the arbitrators; and, using the strongest language, he proceeded to show that "the award was made in pursuance of a reference designed to be binding and conclusive, entered into by the two Governments in good faith, with the knowledge of the Parliament of Canada, and acquiesced in until long after the proceedings under the reference had terminated; that this award was made by distinguished arbitrators of the highest character, after an exhaustive collection of all known evidence bearing on the subject; that the award assigned to Ontario less territory than His Excellency's present advisers, as well as previous Canadian Governments, had in other contentions invariably claimed to lie within this province; that more than two years elapsed before the Federal Government gave any notice of an intention to reject the award; and that the course of the Federal Government in now rejecting such an award is unprecedented in British practice, is opposed to the uses

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of civilized government, and is a grievous wrong to the people of Ontario."

The line of cleavage between Government and Opposition on this great question of provincial rights widened during this session, and until the matters in dispute were finally settled by the decisions of the Privy Council there was no departure from the attitude then so strongly taken. That Mowat was equal to the occasion was a great thing for Ontario; that the occasion arose was a great thing for Mowat.

The House prorogued the 10th of March, 1882, after passing eighty-nine acts, and before the year had elapsed was called together again, on the 13th of December, and, with adjournments, sat until 1st February, 1883, when prorogation took place and seventy-three bills received Royal assent. There was but little legislation of a public character, and not much of marked importance.

The Speech was brief, and did not predict or ask much legislation, and the session, in view of the fact that a general election was imminent, was a short one.

Allusion was made in the Address to the fact that, although the arbitration respecting the northern and western boundaries had been declared four years ago, no action had followed on the part of the Dominion Government, and dissatisfaction naturally existed in consequence of this regrettable condition of public affairs.

His Honor was able to report a largely increased immigration, and declared the lumbering interests of the country to be prosperous.

Bills were to be submitted making changes in the High and Public Schools Act, and were to be considered in connection with street railways, election law, and kindred matters.

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The report from the License Department stated that the temperance people were determined to resist all attempts to relax the laws for restricting the liquor traffic.

Messrs. Balfour and Drury moved the Address to His Honor. The Opposition made the usual denunciation of lack of economy in the expenditure of public moneys, and Mr. Bell attempted to effect amendments in the Public and Separate Schools Act.

The general election followed, the nominations being made on the 20th of February, and the polling on the 26th, terminating in favor of the Government.

Some of the men whose appearance in the Legislature dates from this Parliament were:

HON. JOHN MORRISON GIBSON, first elected a member of the Legislative Assembly for Hamilton in the year 1879, and again in 1883, 1886, 1890, 1894, and afterwards for East Wellington. He was called to the Government, and held office from the 18th of January, 1889, to the 21st of July, 1896, having filled the various positions of Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Crown Lands, and Attorney-General. He was Provincial Secretary from the 18th of January, 1889, to the 21st of July, 1896; Commissioner of Crown Lands from the 21st of October, 1899, until the close of the Ross Administration. When he acted as Chairman of the Private Bills Committee, it was generally acknowledged that he was eminently fitted for the performance of his duties. A thorough knowledge of law, a practical acquaintance with public needs, a faculty of discovery of "the nigger in the fence" which Matthew Crooks Cameron declared existed in every private bill, and an obstinate adherence to what he believed to be right, made him at home in the chair in the

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Private Bills Committee room, and it is to be hoped that the numerous men who in turn may occupy it may be as well prepared to properly fill it. He seemed intuitively to realize the dubious points of every measure brought before him, and when he observed the slightest weakness he pointed it out, and the Committee usually had sufficient faith in his judgment to think his views worthy their acceptance, and acted in accordance with the suggestions which he had made. He was a thorough man of business, and largely increased his knowledge of State affairs during his occupancy of a Cabinet position. He appeared to be successful in his numerous avocations. As a lawyer, dealing largely with commercial transactions, he was one of fortune's favorites. It is difficult to write freely of men still living, and yet there are some of whom it is safe to express a candid opinion. Of these is John M. Gibson, and in his case there is, fortunately, little to be said other than of a pleasing character. A man taking an active part in politics could not, if he faithfully discharged his duty, escape the tongue of the maligner or the libel of the partisan. That he has done his duty to his country is undeniable. As a military man he has admirably helped to develop the spirit of self-defence which is essential to the protection of a country claiming control of half a continent. Early and late, in person as in spirit, he has admirably maintained his place as one willing to defend his native land. and, next to his own immediate interests, he has sought to advance those of the Canadian volunteer. A reliable marksman, a well disciplined officer, a born soldier, he has given much valuable time to the advancement of the strength and utility of our citizen soldiery. He has never withheld personal or pecuniary sacrifice when it has been deemed necessary. He has twice accompanied the

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Bisley team to Great Britain, once as its commanding officer, and had an early experience as a combatant at Ridgeway, where he first saw men under fire. As a student he was distinguished by his thorough application to his educational literary work, and won prizes of which any aspirant to literary honors might be proud. Of his political career men who know him best, even of his opponents, speak most highly, and they tell of his strict personal honor, his freedom from rancor, and his generosity to an opponent when in the height of the keenest debate. If he attains the average age of men, and is not weighed down by the load of anxiety which every politician and commercial man carries daily, he will be heard of more often in the future, probably, than in the past.

As a speaker he is deliberate, if not painfully slow, in opening up any question, and has a fuller use of language when spurred by provocation and attack than when carefully balancing nearly every sentence as he thoroughly works his way to a desired end.

His retirement from public life was an unfortunate necessity, for it came about largely, if not altogether, through serious ill-health, from which all right-minded men will hope that he may permanently recover.

HON. JOHN DRYDEN, who entered the Legislative Assembly as member for the constituency of South Ontario, took his seat on January 7th, 1880, being elected at the general election of 1879. He brought into the Legislature from his own locality the title of "Honest John Dryden," and it was frequently applied to him. He is a man of intelligence, a good talker, and an apt scholar. Knowledge of many kinds he can boast, and he never spoke—although taking a liberal share of debate after his first session—without having something to say which

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was worth listening to. He speedily "went up head." He had an aptitude for practical farming, was highly successful as a stock-breeder, and controlled one of the finest farms in, not only the county of Ontario, but throughout the province. He was invited to join the Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture, and accepted the responsibilities of the position with hesitation, it may have been, but with the self-assurance that he was equal to the task which had been assigned to him. The Agricultural College and Model Farm were in existence, and had survived and promised to outlive the attacks which an active Opposition brought to bear upon them. He was master of the situation, knew what he was talking about, could intelligently discuss every objection brought against management or methods, and became as well known as an agricultural expert in the Northern and Western States as in his own province. His task was of no small magnitude, but he appeared to enjoy the performance of it. He was as fully at home in fruit culture as in the growth of wheat. He was proficient in the handling of stock, and knew every point of the perfect horse. He became the head of the College practically as well as theoretically, and if he did not assume the title, he certainly discharged many of the duties connected with it. The experimental plot was his playground. He was constantly searching out new objects upon which to spend money for the benefit of the farmer—with a large F, remember—and found it. From the township show up he was constantly effecting improvements. He carried a model dairy to every homestead, a spraying machine to every fruit farm, and a cheese factory of improved methods to every group of townships. Literature on matters agricultural was distributed broadcast. Agricultural knowledge was brought to every school-house

where intelligent trustees became acquainted with its value. And better than all—but this is still a moot point—he was invited by the Imperial Government to visit Ireland and devise some scheme for the better cultivation of Irish soil and the better management of Irish agricultural operations. And there is yet work for him to do.

JAMES MACMAHON, M.D., a Reformer, entered the Legislature as member for North Wentworth in 1880. He sat for the constituency in 1884, 1887, 1891, and was appointed issuer of law stamps. He was an acceptable speaker, although he did not bore the House with undesired efforts in that direction. He fearlessly expressed his views, nevertheless, and they had weight with his fellow-members. He was a warm admirer of Mr. Mowat.

JOHN WATERS, Esq., entered the Legislative Assembly as member for North Middlesex in 1880, and was returned for the Legislatures of 1884, 1887, and 1891, and afterwards appointed registrar. He has discharged the duties of his office with zeal and close attention. As a plain talker upon every-day subjects he gave indications of an uncommon mind, and there was no advanced reform upon which he had not a pronounced opinion, or one which he was afraid to express. In Scotland or England he would have been known as a Chartist or pronounced Radical. He did not espouse this or that question because it was new, but solely because it expressed the views of progressive men and women. Although the House found amusement in his advocacy of Woman's Rights, he never hesitated to assert them and their advancement, with the latest views upon the subject.

JOHN B. FREEMAN, Esq., the representative of North

Norfolk for a considerable period, first took his seat in 1880. He sat in the House from that date during the Legislatures of 1884 and 1887, when his health failed and he had to retire. To say that he was one of the most genial of the many "good fellows" who have served in the Ontario Assembly is to give him faint praise. He acted as "whip" for the Liberals during several sessions, and enjoyed the utmost confidence of Hon. O. Mowat and his colleagues. In the hope of effecting an improvement in his health, Mr. Freeman took a sea trip to California, as did Hon. T. B. Pardee, but in both cases the remedy was resorted to at too late a period to be of avail.

WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq., member for South Norfolk, was a sturdy defender of Conservative principles. He entered the Chamber in 1880, and occupied a seat therein after the elections of 1884 and 1887. He was a fair speaker, a good business member, and had an agreeable personal manner which brought him many friends.

CHARLES DRURY, Esq., East Simcoe, was elected at a bye-election in 1882, and speedily assumed an active share in the work of the House and his constituency. He was re-elected at the general election of 1883, and was unseated in November, 1884, and re-elected in June, 1885, and at the following general election. He had a full knowledge of agricultural operations, theoretically and practically, and, entering the Government, became, on the 1st of May, 1888, the first Minister of Agriculture. He did much to convince the people of the high importance of the School of Agriculture and the Model Farm at Guelph, and his addresses in many portions of the province were important factors in extending the general knowledge of the interests over which he presided.

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DAVID NEAR, Esq., the Conservative member for Welland in the fourth Legislature, was elected in 1879. He was not a man of extreme views, and sometimes passed beyond party bounds. He was not a talker, but still another of the municipal men who can tell you how a statute works and are full of amendments. He lived near Ridgeway, and on the famous 2nd of June, 1867, went down to see the Fenians repulsed by the Canadian volunteers. He always chuckled when he told how, seeing the Fenians running one way and the volunteers the other, he thought it time that he too should run, and made a faster trip home than when he came out to see the engagement.

JOHN CASCADEN, Esq., M.D., represented West Elgin in 1880, and again in 1884. He was a finished speaker in the natural and oratorical style which distinguished him. The matter of his speeches was as finished as his manner, and the announcement of the fact that he was on his feet soon filled the chairs—not so much because what he said was more weighty than what others uttered, but because of the elocution and attractive mannerisms which were worth hearing and observing. He was a hard fighter, and met with much opposition which he succeeded in controlling.

JAMES LAIDLAW, Esq., was elected member for South Wellington in 1879, and sat in 1884 for the constituency. He was a welcome speaker when he rose to address the Chair, and had a sense of humor which was acceptable in an assembly which did not always distinguish itself in that direction.

JAMES HENRY METCALFE, Esq., was selected as provincial representative of the city of Kingston at the election of 1879. He was one of the fun-makers of the Assembly, and his utterances—some of them much to the

point—were listened to with a broad grin on nearly every face, although there were some legislators who would have regarded the most exquisite fooling with a frown of disapprobation. I remember one special occasion on which the whole Chamber roared with laughter, because, having just come from a dinner at Government House, he furnished everybody with an appetizing reproduction of the *menu*, and assured us, in a very confidential style, how much he had admired the orange groves—otherwise the greenhouse—to his heart's content, and had walked therein, with the charming hostess, until he thought himself in Paradise, or some similar but equally pleasant locality.

Mr. Metcalfe was a keen sportsman, and could ride or handicap a horse with full knowledge of the work, and instruct the members in all the intricacies of whist and euchre. He had a warm heart, and was popular because of his excessive good-nature. He had taught Kingston schoolboys in his youth, and many of them followed his lead at election times. He ended his public career in the Penitentiary, as an excellent Warden and efficient official.

W. JAMES PARKHILL, Esq., represented South Simcoe, and was a Conservative. He was elected in 1879. He was Grand Master of the Orange organization, was genial in manner, and exhibited force in the presentation of his views. He succeeded D'Arcy Boulton, who had succeeded Thomas R. Ferguson when the latter died soon after he captured the seat at the general election of 1875.

A. F. WOOD, Esq., of Madoc, member for North Hastings, was a Conservative, and one of the prominent men of his party while in the Legislature. He was a good speaker, and not a bore. His appearances on the oratorical stage were not too frequent. He afterwards sat in the Dominion Parliament.

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GEORGE D. HAWLEY, Esq., succeeded Mr. Grange as member for Lennox, and was the opposite of his predecessor in nearly every respect. He was a speaker of rather more than average ability, as was shown when he moved the Address in 1886. In 1884 he was defeated by A. Hale Roe, an eccentric, who did not survive a controverted election trial, but was defeated by Hawley.

FREDERICK JOHN FRENCH, Esq., barrister, was elected for South Grenville for the fourth Legislature, 1879. He was accepted as a legal authority by the Conservatives of his day, and made a special study of parliamentary practice. A moderately able speech was made by him at infrequent intervals, and he was a tactician of no small ability. He was not beloved by C. F. Fraser, as they had been opposing candidates, but their political differences did not extend into personal matters.

Mr. French held his seat for several Legislatures, having been elected and re-elected in 1880, 1884, and 1887, the constituency having very marked Conservative tendencies.

HON. JAMES YOUNG was elected to a seat in the Legislative Assembly in 1879, having previously been for several years in the House of Commons. South Waterloo was his constituency, and he had been identified from early youth with the interests of Galt and the surrounding country, owning and editing a Reform paper there for several years, and serving on the school and council boards. With this experience and a marked liking for public life, and industrious devotion to its duties, it is no wonder Mr. Young took a leading part in the Legislature. He was made a member of the Executive Council in 1883, but ill-health soon caused his resignation. His name was identified with much

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useful legislation in the Dominion House, and always has he been busy with his pen.

A general election was held in February, 1883, and the first session of the new Legislature was called for the 23rd of January, 1884. Hon. J. B. Robinson was Lieut.-Governor, and Charles Clarke was re-elected Speaker.

The Speech from the Throne was of more than common importance. Reference was made in favorable terms to the new Governor-General, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had been appointed successor to the Marquis of Lorne.

His Honor announced the fact that the traffic in intoxicating liquors had been authoritatively pronounced to be wholly within the legislative powers of the province.

The House was asked to consider the fact that, at the last session of the Dominion Parliament, an Act was passed declaring that the main line of railways in the province, and all lines now or hereafter connecting with them, shall be subject to the legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada; and to consider whether the British North America Act was intended to enable the Federal Parliament to interfere in this manner with the legislative authority of the province. He stated that, as a result of negotiations between his Government and that of Manitoba, a case had been agreed upon for the reference of the dispute respecting the interprovincial boundary to the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council. The first question to be decided under that reference would be the validity of the award made by the arbitrators in 1878, and a controlling condition was that the hearing should take place during the then current year.

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The Address, moved by Mr. McIntyre, seconded by Mr. Sills, reproduced the Speech. It was debated for several days. On motion of Mr. Hardy, seconded by Mr. Fraser, it was made to declare that the House hastened to announce to His Honor that it was the duty of the Government to take all the necessary steps to firmly maintain the constitutional and legislative rights of the province to regulate and control the liquor traffic.

The mental condition of the Hon. Adam Crooks had become such, in the month of December, 1883, that he was unfitted for the discharge of his parliamentary duties, and in due course his seat was declared vacant. A few months afterwards he died.

HON. A. CROOKS, it will not be out of place here to state, was one of those courteous, amiable men whose companionship makes life worth living, and, although lacking some of the force of more vigorous men, was a good executant, a deep reasoner, and an honest custodian of the interests of those whose agent he became. His death was generally deplored, and he holds in the memory of his countrymen a position which any public man might properly desire to attain.

In looking about for the best available successor to Mr. Crooks, whose sudden break-down had left the province without a Minister of Education, Mr. Mowat felt impelled to go outside the House, and offered the position to GEORGE W. ROSS, Esq., then a member of the House of Commons. Mr. Ross accepted the invitation, resigned his seat at Ottawa, and was elected M.P.P. for West Middlesex, where he was afterwards re-elected at every subsequent general election until his final retirement to enter the Dominion Senate. He was appointed Minister of Education on the 23rd of November, 1883, and held the office for nearly sixteen years, when, being

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called upon to form a cabinet, he became Premier of Ontario, and chose to administer what he regarded as the less onerous Treasury Department. After the election of 1905 he acted as leader of the Opposition, and since then has been called to the Senate.

Mr. Ross is in every respect one of the most distinguished sons of the Dominion, and though he has been subject to severe, if not chronic, attacks of rheumatism, has, in whatever capacity he has served the people, proved himself eminently well-fitted for the discharge of duties appertaining to his office. He has always been a persistent worker, and systematically goes through his daily routine of reading and correspondence. He is a mentally busy man, and is never more happy than in preparing a speech, meeting a deputation, or consulting with political friends, and is, I doubt not, as hard a worker to-day as when carrying the weight of the laborious duties of the premiership of Ontario. And he has always found time to be affable with a visitor, and to break in upon his avocations when advice has been asked. He never sent away a deputation or an individual to whom he had not exhibited the utmost courtesy and given advice or information as requested. He regarded honest attention as the due of every man who approached him.

His political have exceeded his literary occupations, but his pen has not been idle, and from it we have many valuable contributions on educational and kindred subjects, matters with which his experience, leading through varied stages from the schoolroom to the minister's desk, has given him peculiarly intimate acquaintance. He also prepared the Life of Alexander Mackenzie, a most stimulating biography and excellent political handbook.

No record of our social progress would be complete without mention of Mr. Ross's efforts in behalf of tem-

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perance. If these did not produce all the results expected, sufficient allowance was probably not made for the difficulty of reconciling the attitude of a Premier, bound to consider all men's views, with that of the thorough-going temperance reformer. Nothing practical can be gained by being too far in advance of general public opinion.

As a speaker, Mr. Ross's eloquence has carried his fame from the Bay of Fundy to the Pacific, and whenever Canada is spoken of, the name of George W. Ross comes foremost to the remembrance of the critic.

A red-letter day for the women of Ontario was the 5th of March, 1884, for on that date a motion was carried, on a division of 43 yeas to 26 nays, in favor of the second reading of a bill to enable widows and unmarried women to vote at municipal elections.

On March 13th, Mr. Pardee moved resolutions in the last paragraph of which was a declaration "That this House deems it a duty to firmly protest against the encroachments of the Federal Parliament on the rights of the province, and to assert the rights of the people of every province to exercise, through their Legislatures, exclusive jurisdiction over railways and works of a local and provincial character, and to supervise and regulate the conduct of all companies owning or operating such works."

Mr. Meredith moved an amendment, in the shape of resolutions concluding with the words, "That it is the opinion of this House that the best interests of the province demand that this House should, as it does hereby, assert its just right, in respect of the matter hereinbefore set forth, as set out and defined in these resolutions, and that communication should at once be had with the Federal authorities, with a view to procur-

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ing the repeal, during the present session of the Dominion Parliament, of the Act of the said Parliament hereinbefore referred to, in so far as it derogates from the rights of this province as herein set forth, and that the course of practice to be hereafter adopted in the exercise of the powers conferred upon the Dominion Parliament, in respect of the matters to which these resolutions relate, where it is proposed to exercise such powers, should be defined in accordance with the principles hereinbefore set forth."

Mr. Hardy moved, in amendment to the amendment, seconded by Mr. Fraser: "That this House again firmly insists that where a company whose railway has been constructed under a provincial charter seeks to escape provincial control by procuring its railway to be declared to be for any such general advantage as aforesaid, the company ought to be compelled to first procure from the provincial Legislature, by which it is incorporated, an assent to its railway being so declared, or at least to show that such assent was applied for, and, if refused, has been so refused on improper or insufficient grounds."

The amendment to the amendment, having been put, was carried: Yeas, 47; nays, 32.

On the 17th of March, 1884, the Attorney-General, rising in his place, addressed the Speaker, and requested that he would read to the House letters placed in his hands.

Mr. Speaker then read two letters—one from Robert McKim, member of the House for North Wellington, covering ten one-hundred-dollar bills; and another from W. D. Balfour, member for South Essex, covering bills to the value of \$800, to influence these gentlemen to vote in the Assembly against the Government.

As may be believed, the House was lost in its amaze-

ment at the stupidity, as well as criminality, of the proceedings on the part of those who had attempted to bribe men sworn "to be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty."

The Attorney-General placed before the House his statement of the affair, and moved that the matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, which was invested with full powers to call for persons and papers. A detailed account of the action of all concerned will be found in the succeeding chapter, which tells of the course pursued by what Mr. Fraser termed a "Brawling Brood of Bribers."

Two of the more important bills of the session were, one for the better prevention of corrupt and illegal practices at elections, and one for the amendment of the election law. Many amendments were proposed, but only two were adopted, the Attorney-General declaring that, while some of them were good, he was inclined to think that, on the whole, his own provisions were better.

The work of the session was comprised of ninety-seven acts, which received the Royal assent on March 25th, when the House was prorogued.

The second session of this Legislature began on the 28th of January, 1885, and the Speech of His Honor, John Beverley Robinson, congratulated the House upon the fact that the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council had, so far as they had dealt with the question, adjudged the true boundaries of the province to be such as were awarded by the arbitrators. The Government of Ontario was anxious to have submitted to the same tribunal the question of our whole northern boundary. Correspondence relating thereto would be laid before the House.

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After the decision of the Privy Council, a proclamation had issued bringing into force the Act of the preceding session with respect to the Provisional District of Thunder Bay, and another erecting "The Territorial District of Rainy River." Further legislation would be necessary.

He had also to congratulate them upon the fact that the Privy Council had pronounced a judgment in regard to the legal rights of the public in the rivers and streams of the province, affirming the views so strenuously maintained by the Provincial Legislature.

He had further to give expression to his satisfaction that the questions submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada, touching the validity of the License Acts passed by the Federal Parliament of 1883 and 1884, had been answered by the Supreme Court to the effect that (with certain considerable exceptions) these enactments exceeded the jurisdiction of the Federal Parliament. The confusion which those Acts created had thus been removed.

Many minor questions were referred to, and legislation invited, but it is unnecessary to further specify them here.

Justices Boyd and Cameron, in their reports as election trial judges, stated that they had disagreed in their decisions.

The bill (No. 147) relating to Lord's Day excursions came up for third reading on March 27th, when Mr. Fraser moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. Hess, that "whilst Bill 147 seeks to prohibit the operating on Sundays of railway excursion trains, it makes no provision against the operating of ordinary freight or passenger trains on Sunday; that it seeks to prohibit the running on Sunday of steamboats for excursions, but

makes no provision against the running or operation on Sunday of any other craft, whether for profit or pleasure; that it would not prohibit the wealthy man from spending dollars in taking a Sunday excursion for pleasure, but it would prevent the poor man from spending as many cents for a like purpose; that the bill, if it becomes law, will operate mainly, if not entirely, against the just liberty and right of the working and poorer classes to have legitimate and reasonable opportunities for rest and relaxation on Sunday; and therefore said bill should not now be read a second time." Yeas, 8; nays, 57.

March 27th brought many members to their feet with objections to the proposed rearrangement of constituencies, but this did not seriously affect the ministerial plan, which was carried with few alterations, and on the 28th it received its third reading, and was intituled, "An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Franchise and the Representation of the People."

His Honor the Lieut.-Governor gave Royal assent to ninety-nine Acts, and prorogued the House. He withheld assent from a bill, entitled "An Act to correct certain clerical errors in the Consolidated Jurors Act of 1883," the purpose thereof having been provided for by the Act for further improving the Administration of the Law.

Looking over the division lists of these sessions, there are a few names of new members whom one remembers as men of rather more than ordinary promise. Among them were—

H. P. O'CONNOR, Esq., who was a Reformer, elected for South Bruce in 1883. He held the seat in the general elections of 1886 and 1890, when the split caused by the Patrons of Industry changed some Reform ridings into

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doubtful constituencies. For a time the movement brought about marked changes, but the policy was too narrow to secure unbounded success. Good men were driven from public life, it is true, but their substitutes satisfied nobody, and now it is difficult to name half a dozen of the Patrons who have, as representatives, influenced public life in one way or other. H. P. O'Connor was full of courageous humor, and told them, again and again, that by desertion of the Reform ranks they simply played into the hands of their most determined opponents, and helped to build a platform which could not be durable. He was an excellent speaker, a keen debater, and an honest man—three high qualifications for a public life. He had an untimely end, having been thrown from his horse and killed.

NICHOLAS AWREY, Esq., member for South Wentworth in the Legislatures of 1884, 1887, 1891, and 1895, was a popular and energetic representative. He was Commissioner for Ontario at the Chicago World's Fair, and displayed aptitude for business and public affairs, but failing health removed him from such activities, and he died at an early age. He was succeeded in the House by John Dickinson, Esq., a man of equal popularity.

H. E. CLARKE, Esq., a Conservative, represented West Toronto in 1884 and 1887, and was re-elected in 1891. He was an able critic of finance, and well up in city municipal matters. His manner was courteous, and one never heard a slang word from him, even when opportunities were tempting. He suffered from heart disease, and anticipated sudden death. He was addressing the House on the subject of assessment one day. Mr. Hardy entered the chamber just as Mr. Clarke was concluding his remarks, and requested the speaker to repeat some of what he had said, as the subject was one in

which he took great interest. Mr. Clarke proceeded to comply, when he suddenly fell forward upon the floor of the House and immediately died. How shocking this was to all who witnessed it may be imagined.

JAMES CLANCY, Esq., member for West Kent in 1883, 1887, and 1891, was afterwards elected to the Commons, and has more recently been appointed Auditor-General of Ontario by the Whitney Administration. His knowledge of financial matters, for he had been engaged in lumbering operations and mercantile affairs, was of more than ordinary character and extent, and eminently fitted him for the position which he has been called upon to fill.

J. WELLINGTON McLAUGHLIN, Esq., M.D., took his seat for West Durham on January 23rd, 1884, and was re-elected in 1887. He was a Reformer, and a speaker of average ability, a hard worker at his desk, and an industrious committee-man.

CHARLES OAKS ERMATINGER, Conservative, was first elected for East Elgin in 1883, and sat until 1886. He was not a rabid partisan, but made a good speech, and was always listened to when he addressed the Assembly. He was full of drollery then—and probably is now—and was a clever caricaturist.

WILLIAM KERNS, Esq., represented the county of Halton as successor to William Barber, the old and respected first member from that constituency. The Riding was always close, and Mr. Kerns's majority was a small one, but he held the seat from 1883 through four successive Legislatures. A fair-minded man, he was free from excessive partyism, but always found the support of Conservative measures his imperative duty. As commanding officer of the 20th Halton Battalion for a time, he was popular and much respected by his men.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BRIBERY CASE.

Letters for House—The envelopes opened—Money and letters—The Attorney-General's statement—Excitement and consternation—C. F. Fraser and his diatribe—Leaders of the House shocked by the disclosures—Committee on Privileges and Elections—After the case was opened—A Commission appointed—Issued to Judges Proudfoot, Scott and Senkler—Enquiry by Commission opened 14th July, 1884—Report dated 10th January, 1885—Counsel appointed—Extracts from Report.

WHEN I took the Chair in the Legislative Assembly on the evening of the 17th of March, 1884, I carried with me that which was destined to create a wide sensation when laid before the House. Robert McKim, member for North Wellington, and Wm. D. Balfour, member for South Essex, had each given to me, in the afternoon of that day, a letter addressed to me as Speaker. Opening the outer envelope, I found that there was a second and sealed envelope in each package, and that both were endorsed with the request that the second cover should not be broken until the Attorney-General should desire me to ascertain the contents. I took them with me into the House at the usual hour of meeting, but no request for the opening of the envelopes was made during the afternoon. The House rose at six o'clock for the usual recess, but did not adjourn, and at eight o'clock I

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resumed the Chair and the House went into Committee of the Whole upon Supply, the discussion being of routine character and not arousing acrimony. An item in connection with legislation occupied the Committee, and, as is usual on St. Patrick's Day, the members looked for a brief night session, and the Committee reported several resolutions without opposition. After I had resumed the Chair, Mr. Hardy, the Provincial Secretary, presented several reports which were received. At this point Mr. Mowat rose, and, addressing the Chair, requested me to open the envelopes placed in my hands and read to the House the letters they contained. I did so, with some curiosity as to the contents of the letters and the novelty of the procedure, but convinced by the manner of the Attorney-General that the matter was of no common import. The letters were as follows:

“ MONDAY MORNING, March 17th, 1884.

“ *Mr. Speaker*,—The enclosed one thousand dollars was yesterday paid to me, to influence my vote in the Legislative Assembly, by Mr. Wilkinson. I place it in your hands at the earliest opportunity on your return to the city.

“ I remain, yours truly,

“ R. McKIM.”

“ HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

“ TORONTO, March 17th, 1884, 3 p.m.

“ *Dear Sir*,—I hereby enclose you the sum of eight hundred dollars, in one-hundred-dollar bills, handed to me at 2.30 p.m. to-day, and now handed to you by me. It was given me by a man named ‘ Big Push ’ Wilkinson,

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in Room No. 9, Walker House, to influence my vote against the Government during the present session. I made no promises.

“Yours faithfully,

“WM. D. BALFOUR.

“Col. Charles Clarke,

“Speaker Legislative Assembly, Ontario.”

In the letter from Mr. McKim were one thousand dollars, in ten one-hundred-dollar bills of the Bank of British North America, and in Mr. Balfour's letter eight similar bills.

It is needless to say that the written contents of these packages aroused the most profound attention from the members on both sides of the House, and that there appeared to be a common feeling of disgust on the part of those who heard the statement made, and extreme annoyance at the fact that there were any grounds for the charge that members of the Legislature had been tampered with in the manner stated by Messrs. McKim and Balfour. Leaders of Reformers and Conservatives alike felt that the honor and good name of the Legislative Assembly had been besmirched, that its standing, whatever the result of future action, was lowered, and that the only steps to be taken were such as should fully warrant the most drastic treatment. The scene was a memorable one. Mr. Mowat and Mr. Meredith, the opposing leaders of the House, were pale with suppressed excitement. Mr. Morris, ex-Governor of Manitoba, the lieutenant of the Conservative leader, was shocked by the startling disclosures. There was a sympathetic determination, which appeared to be unanimous, that investigation should be made and the guilty punished. Little

could be said, but there was much to be done, and the session was nearing its end. If the charges brought against prominent members of the community were true, and there appeared to be little doubt of that, the House must make a probing inquiry, purge itself of disgrace, and put blame upon the parties really guilty of a great crime. One course only seemed to be open. The House must stand upon its dignity, make its own inquiry into details, and see that no legal quibbles should be permitted to shield the ring-leaders in the attack upon the probity and honor of the Legislature.

After the reading of the letters, the Attorney-General resumed and said that money had been paid for the purpose of influencing votes in the House, and that this was a high crime and misdemeanor. He then proceeded to read the following statement in the form of a resolution: "That he is credibly informed and believes that divers persons named by him, including Christopher W. Bunting, John A. Wilkinson, Edward Meek, F. S. Kirkland, and one Lynch, have entered into a conspiracy to accomplish the defeat of the Government in this House by corrupting members of this House to vote against the Government and Government measures; that the first-named three persons are well-known and active members of the party in this province opposed to this Government; and that the last named two persons are American citizens; that for the purpose of corruptly influencing the votes of members of this House, the said five persons have at divers times during the present session of this Legislature approached several members of this House with money, offers of money, promises of offices in the gift of the Dominion Government, and promises of other personal advantages to such members; that divers members of this House so approached, being indignant at the criminal

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conduct proposed to them, have deemed it to be the fitting course on their part and a duty to their constituents and the public, acting herein with the approval and advice of members of the Government, to seem for a time to entertain such approaches, in order to the detection, exposure and punishment of the persons guilty of making such corrupt attempts, and have, in pursuance of their duty, from time to time disclosed to members of the Government the approaches from time to time made to them, and the several acts therein of the guilty parties; that among the members of this House in regard to whom such attempts have been made are Mr. Robert McKim, member for the West Riding of Wellington, Mr. Wm. D. Balfour, member for the South Riding of Essex, and Mr. John F. Dowling, member for the South Riding of Renfrew; that in carrying out the objects of the conspiracy the said Wilkinson, to influence the vote of the said McKim, repeatedly offered him money, and has at length delivered to the said McKim one thousand dollars; that Mr. McKim, immediately on receiving the money, placed it in the hands of Mr. Speaker, to be by him produced to this House; that both the said Wilkinson and the said Bunting undertook to pay to Mr. McKim a further sum of one thousand dollars on a future day; that the said Bunting was a party to the payment of the former sum, and to the promise to pay the latter sum for the corrupt purpose already stated; and that, to secure the same corrupt object, the said Wilkinson and Bunting further offered and undertook that the said McKim should be appointed registrar at Edmonton, in the North-West, at a salary of one thousand dollars a year; that both the said Wilkinson and the said Bunting assured the said McKim that the Dominion Minister of the Interior had pledged to them his word that their said promise of the

said office would be carried out, and the said Bunting, on his own part, pledged his word to the same effect, that for the same corrupt purpose already mentioned, and to influence the vote of the said Wm. D. Balfour, the said Wilkinson repeatedly offered to pay and did this day deliver to the said Balfour, the sum of eight hundred dollars in cash, and undertook to pay a further sum of seven hundred dollars on a future day; that for the same purpose the said Kirkland also offered to pay to him the sum of twelve hundred dollars; that immediately on receiving the said sum of eight hundred dollars, Mr. Balfour placed the same in the hands of Mr. Speaker, to be by him produced to this House, and that further to secure the same purpose, the said Wilkinson undertook that the said Balfour should be appointed by the Dominion Government to a registrarship at Regina, in the North-West; that the said Wilkinson, for the corrupt purpose already mentioned and to influence the vote of the said John F. Dowling, offered him the sum of two thousand dollars cash, and to pay him a further sum of two thousand dollars at a future period; that the sum so offered to be paid down was exhibited by him to the said Wilkinson, and that there is reason to believe that other corrupt offers were made by the said conspirators to and rejected by other members of this House, and he moves as follows: That the charges read and matters referred to and set forth in said statement of the information and belief of the Attorney-General be forthwith referred to the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, with instructions to inquire and report thereon and with power to send for and examine all necessary persons and papers in or concerning the premises."

Mr. Meredith addressed the House, and declared that this was as great a surprise to him as it had been to any

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member of his side of the House, and he fully concurred in the observations of the Attorney-General as to the startling character of the statements that he had made and the necessity of a faithful and full investigation before the proper committee. He protested that no evidence had been adduced warranting the use of Mr. Bunting's name, and condemned the carrying on of prolonged negotiations with the alleged bribers.

Mr. Morris spoke briefly along similar lines. Perhaps the most exciting incident in a group of incidents was the speech delivered by Hon. C. F. Fraser, in which he spoke of all implicated in this affair as "a brawling brood of bribers." Those who saw his outstretched arm and pointed finger, and heard the thrilling tone which he used when delivering those since famous words, cannot readily forget one of the most remarkable diatribes warranted by an occasion. The Commissioner was inspired by a conviction of the truthfulness of the charges made and a determination to drag the accused into a court of justice. He may have been more or less vindictive, may have been animated to some extent at least by the partisan spirit, which excites in all politicians a measure of personal bitterness, and doubtless felt a not unnatural anxiety to make all possible political capital out of the occurrences. So long as law-makers are mere men this feeling will exist, and much as we may deprecate it, mankind in general will entertain and tolerate its manifestation. Defending the course of the gentlemen who had caught the corruptionists, and had been already assailed therefor, he said: His honorable friend from East Toronto (Mr. Morris) had only words of reproach for those gentlemen, who deserved at the hands of the House as a whole, and at the hands of the province at large, credit and honor and reputation for having brought this villainy

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home. (Cheers.) His honorable friend said that it was a grave and serious thing that members of the Government should have allowed this matter to go on, but he knew, and the House knew, that if any one on his (Fraser's) side of the House had risen to make such a charge, without having evidence in his possession, he would have been laughed and sneered at for making charges without foundation. (Cheers.) It was necessary for public purity, and in order to clear the political sky, that such steps should be taken, that when the matter came before the House they should be able to place, beyond peradventure, the conviction of these men.

Then, steadily pointing his finger across the House, in withering tones he said: They have snared this brawling brood of bribers that had been hatched under the eaves of the *Mail* building during the session. (Loud and prolonged applause.) He told his friends from South Essex and North Wellington that they would get, as they had deserved to get, credit and honor from the people of this Dominion from one end of it to the other. (Cheers.) He told his friend from East Toronto, as he had told his friend from North Wellington, that there was no dishonor in bringing home guilt where guilt lay. (Cheers.) There was no dishonor in making conviction sure; there was no dishonor in putting one's self in the breach, and he said if there were two men in the House who deserved the esteem and credit of every honest man on both sides of the House, they were the members for South Essex and North Wellington.

The Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections offered the most likely method of quickly getting at the facts, and the case was ordered to be submitted to them. This body consisted of the following members: The Attorney-General and Messrs. Badgerow, Ballantyne, Blezard, Brereton, Broder, Cascaden, Dryden, Erma-

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tinger, Ferris, Fraser, French, Graham, Gray, Hagar, Harcourt, Hart, Lauder, McIntyre, McKenzie, McMahon, Meredith, Merrick, Metcalf, Monk, Morin, Morris, Murray, Neelon, Rayside, Roe, Ross, Sills, Snyder and White—35.

The Committee, with Mr. Harcourt as chairman, held its first meeting next morning, and Messrs. John F. Dowling and Wm. D. Balfour, both members of the Assembly, without being sworn, gave statements as to the offer made to them of money and promises of office by certain persons named by them, and on condition that they should vote against the Government of which Mr. Mowat was Premier. The Committee sat on March 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd and 24th, and on the 24th formally reported progress. In its third report, this Committee recommended the appointment of a Commission to inquire into and investigate the charges, and a motion of an humble address to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was carried. Such Commissioners were to be three judges, one of whom at least was to be a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Ontario.

The Committee took this action because, during the few remaining days of the session, it would be impossible to continue and conclude the investigation of the matters referred to it, and it therefore asked to be discharged from any present further action or proceeding in the premises. The House having concurred in this report and passed the Address, the Commissioners to be appointed were vested with all the powers contained or given in or by Chapter XVII. of the Revised Statutes of Ontario, intituled "An Act respecting Inquiries," or in or by any Act amending the same.

A commission was issued to Mr. Justice Proudfoot, Mr. Judge Scott, of the County of Peel, Brampton, and Mr. Judge Senkler, of the County of Lincoln, St.

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Catharines, under Order of Council, dated 12th May, 1884, which, after reciting the charges of attempt at corrupt influence upon certain members of the Legislature of Ontario, therein named, went on to confer the usual powers upon commissioners, and declared that the "Election Law Amendment Act of 1884" was to be deemed to apply to any attempts to corrupt the successful candidates at elections of the Legislative Assembly, whether such attempts were made before or subsequent to the passing of the said Election Law.

The Commission opened its inquiry in Toronto on July 14th, 1884, and dated its Report on 10th January, 1885. Justice Proudfoot was elected chairman, and the conduct of the inquiry was committed by the Attorney-General to S. H. Blake, Esq., Q.C. Wm. Johnston, Esq., barrister, appeared for the Crown; Mr. Edward Meek appeared on his own behalf, and Mr. Thomas Caswell for Frank S. Kirkland.

The Report states that at the meeting of the 14th day of July, W. R. Meredith, Esq., M.P.P., appeared as a member of the Assembly, and requested liberty to cross-examine the witnesses. The Commissioners declined to permit him to do so in that capacity, but expressed their readiness to hear him if he chose to appear for any of the parties interested, or to formulate a charge against anyone, for more thoroughly probing the matter.

On the 2nd September, W. R. Meredith, Esq., preferred a charge against certain members of the Government in the following terms:

"That members of the Government, Messrs. Fraser, Pardee, Hardy, and Mr. Mowat, knowing that attempts were being made to corrupt members of the House, induced members of the House to approach the persons who are said to have been engaged in this work, for the purpose of inducing them to make cor-

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rupt offers, and to endeavor to entrap others not engaged in the matter into the same corrupt acts."

Upon the 3rd of October, on the application of Hon. Mr. Fraser, the Commissioners ordered the names of the persons to be given whom the members of the Government had colluded with others to endeavor to entrap. On the next day the particulars were given as follows:

"The following are the particulars, so far as known, of the persons referred to in Mr. Meredith's charge, as persons approached by members of the House, at the instance of members of the Government referred to in the said charge: John A. Wilkinson, Edward Meek, Christopher W. Bunting and F. A. Kirkland.

The Commissioners closed their sittings for taking evidence and hearing the arguments of counsel on the 13th of October. Those sittings were public and open, and accommodation was provided for reporters of the public press.

The Commissioners, in transmitting the evidence taken by them, numbered the Report from 1 to 42. These numbers are appended to the paragraphs copied in the Report, which was signed by Judge Proudfoot, Chairman, and Judge E. A. Senkler. The following is the Special Report made by Judge Scott:

"OSGOODE HALL,

"TORONTO, 8th January, 1885.

"I concur in reporting proceedings and evidence; would prefer a distinct statement as to the persons against whom evidence may be read, and respectfully decline giving an opinion or finding as to offences proved.

"(Signed) A. F. SCOTT,

"Commissioner.

"Brampton, 8th Jan., 1885.

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The following numbered paragraphs are taken from the Report of a majority of the Commissioners:

25. An attempt was made by Mr. Meek to impeach the credibility of two of the witnesses, Robert McKim and John Cascaden, and many witnesses were examined against them and for them. The Commissioners consider that the credibility of Messrs. McKim and Cascaden was not successfully attacked.

27. The Commissioners find that during the debate on the Address at the last session of the House of Assembly, a debate that lasted from the opening of the House on the 23rd of January till the 6th of February, an endeavor was made by John A. Wilkinson, Edwin Meek and Christopher W. Bunting, acting in concert, to form a coalition Government, and for that purpose to induce members of the House, supporters of the Government, to vote against them on the Address.

28. In pursuance of this scheme, negotiations were entered into by Wilkinson, Meek, and Bunting with Robert McKim, and by Meek with Cascaden, and offers were made to them of money, and of offices in the North-West Territory, to induce them to vote against the Government.

29. The Commissioners only mention those to whom corrupt offers were made to induce them to vote against the Government by argument. F. A. Kirkland was also endeavoring at this time to influence the votes of members for his own purposes, but not apparently in conjunction with the others.

30. After the vote on the Address had sustained the Government, their efforts ceased until towards the end of the session, when they were renewed, not only as to Mr. McKim, but also as to Messrs. Dowling, Balfour and Lyon.

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31. These renewed attempts were made by Kirkland, in conjunction with Wilkinson, Meek and Bunting, and by a person who passed by the name of Lynch, but whose true name was Stimson.

32. Kirkland made advances to Balfour, representing that Wilkinson and Bunting were desirous of knowing what he would take to vote against the Government. Wilkinson offered Balfour anything he might state, in the way of a shrievalty or registrarship in the North-West, or advertising for his paper from the departments, and represented Bunting as working with him in the matter. Wilkinson said he could pay him \$1,000 or \$1,200 down as a guarantee of the office, and after the vote he would give, say, \$1,000; that Balfour would get any office he might decide upon. Kirkland also offered Balfour to pay him \$1,000 or \$1,200 to speak against the Government, and on the 17th of March Wilkinson gave Balfour \$800, and promised to give him \$700 after a vote was taken on a resolution to be moved by the Opposition.

33. Negotiations had also been renewed with McKim and \$1,000 were given to him on the 16th of March by Wilkinson, after Stimson *alias* Lynch, had, on the previous day endeavored to get McKim to bet on Dowling's vote.

36. Corrupt offers were made also to Dowling by Wilkinson, who wanted him to vote against the Government. He was to get \$2,000, and, after he resigned his seat, \$2,000, or \$3,000 if he did not interfere against the candidate who should run. Wilkinson wanted him to see Bunting to arrange to have the protest withdrawn. Dowling saw Bunting, who said if he would assist in the formation of a coalition, and vote against the Government, and resign his seat, they would recoup him his

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election expenses, and they could afford to give him \$2,000 or \$3,000. Wilkinson took Dowling to Stimson, *alias* Lynch, who wanted to bet \$2,000 that he would not vote against the Mowat administration, and on the 15th of March, Wilkinson and Kirkland in company endeavored to induce Dowling to vote against the Government.

38. In regard to the charge made by Mr. Meredith against Messrs. Fraser, Pardee, Hardy and Mowat, the Commissioners are of opinion that the evidence wholly fails to establish it. All the witnesses who speak on the subject, with one exception, show that the advice of these members of the Government to the persons to whom offers were made, was to be passive, to see how far the persons making offers would go. That is the evidence of these members of the Government themselves; it is the evidence also of the persons to whom they gave the advice. The only conflicting evidence is that of the witness Vicars, who says he heard Hardy say to Fraser, "If your little scheme with Balfour works we will fix them." This was distinctly denied both by Hardy and Fraser. The Commissioners think that Vicars was either under a mistake as to the persons who were speaking together, or that he was telling an untruth. They were not favorably impressed with the manner in which Vicars gave his evidence and do not credit his testimony.

40. The evidence does not show that the money given to McKim and Balfour came from any other source than Wilkinson or Stimson.

41. Nor does there appear to be any reason for supposing that any Conservative members of the House of Assembly attempted to use improper means to induce the members of the House to change their votes.

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42. The Commissioners have arrived at the foregoing conclusions, after a careful consideration of the evidence, and having had the advantage of hearing able arguments by the counsel who appeared before them.

This Report, as I have said, was concurred in by Justice Proudfoot and Judge Senkler, and can be found in full, with the evidence and all the documents produced before the Commission, in the sessional papers of the Legislative Assembly, Vol. 17, Part 3, 1885, while the proceedings of the House in connection with the disclosures and the preliminary investigation before the Committee on Privileges and Elections are recorded in the Journals for 1884. The Legislature took no action upon the Report of the Commissioners, as the law was felt to be uncertain and defective, but action was brought before the Police Magistrate of Toronto, who committed the four persons named as conspirators, Messrs. Bunting, Kirkland, Meek and Wilkinson, for trial at the Assizes for the County of York. A true bill was found by the Grand Jury, and much evidence taken similar in character to that adduced before the Commissioners. The result, however, was an acquittal, the judge, Sir Adam Wilson, charging strongly in that direction.

Leaving the court one day, I found myself walking beside the man Kirkland, and we fell into conversation. He seemed very much surprised at the fuss made over such a small matter as attempting to buy a few legislators. It was, he said, a usual preliminary to securing charters and timber grants from other Legislatures, and he had no interest in the fortunes of political parties in Ontario. The end to be served in his case, he told me, was a purely personal one.

CHAPTER XXII.

SIXTH, SEVENTH AND EIGHTH LEGISLATURES.

House opened 10th February, 1887—Mr. Speaker Baxter—Boundaries still in dispute—Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Evanturel on the Address—Municipal Franchise for Widows and Unmarried Women—Jubilee Year—Resolution in favor of Home Rule for Ireland—Session of 1888—Judgment of Superior Court *re* Crown Lands—Mr. Whitney in the House—Other new members—Seventh Legislature—Mr. Ballantyne, Speaker—Deposits of nickel—Messrs. Harcourt and Dryden in the Ministry—Purchase of supplies by tender—More money for Parliament buildings—Length of sessions increasing—Illness of Sir A. Campbell in 1892—Judge Hagarty opens House—Death of Lieutenant-Governor Campbell—Opening of Legislature in new Parliament buildings by Lieutenant-Governor Kirkpatrick and Hon. Thos. Ballantyne, 4th April, 1893—From 1893 to the close of the Mowat Administration.

THE House met on the 10th of February, 1887, when Hon. J. B. Robinson delivered the opening speech, Jacob Baxter, Esq., having been unanimously elected Speaker. Mr. Baxter was what is known as a charter member—one of the old guard from the first Legislature. From his large experience, his natural dignity and knowledge of parliamentary law, he was well fitted to occupy the position to which he was now called.

His Honor was still unable to announce any progress

towards a final settlement of the boundaries of the province, the Dominion Government having neglected to recognize the rights of Ontario, as confirmed by the Imperial Privy Council. This had become a burning question, and no language could be regarded as too strong which rightly stigmatized the fatuous conduct of the Dominion authorities. But the Government, knowing the folly of rash proceedings, still hoped for orderly and peaceful settlement of a matter so important, and while firmly and strenuously insisting upon full recognition of Ontario's rights, nevertheless did not unwisely depart from the calm dignity of official language in urging an early and final disposal of the matter.

The Address pointed further to the fact that the despatches of 1884 from His Honor the Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, bearing on the subject of the northern boundary of Ontario, still, in 1887, remained unanswered. The reply was moved by Mr. Guthrie and seconded by Mr. Evanturel.

Other subjects were alluded to, but were superseded in importance by this question of the limits of the province. Until that point was definitely decided, it necessarily continued to be of first concern, for it involved lands, timber, minerals, railway routes, every source of provincial wealth; and the bold declaration that Ontario had but little and doubtful claim to these valuable assets naturally aroused the indignation of the thinking people of the whole province.

At an early period in the session that motion which had now become an annual one was planted in the hot-bed of notices of motion. From year to year it varied, and, growing more modest, looked for less, in the hope that the good times coming would speedily give more. The vote was asked in behalf of widows and unmarried

females with taxable property, who sought a share in the franchise. The demand seemed such an unreasonable one that the motion for a second reading was lost. The vote was a large one, there being 55 yeas to 19 yeas.

This was "Jubilee" year, and the House prepared, through a select committee, an elaborate address alluding to the principal events of Her Majesty's reign, written in well-selected terms, and giving at a glance a bird's-eye view of British achievements during the fifty years of her occupation of the throne. It is almost needless to say that it was adopted by the unanimous concurrence of the House, amidst the rousing and continued cheers of the representatives of the people.

The Irish question found its way to the House, as it did to every deliberative body in the British Dominions enjoying representative home rule, and was fully and fairly discussed. The last of the series of resolutions given here, containing the gist of the whole address, was carried by a large majority of the representatives:

Resolved: That we desire to place on record our profound sympathy with the efforts made to find a remedy for miseries and evils long endured, and to express our earnest hope that such a measure of local self-government may soon be granted as, while preserving the integrity of the Empire, and all the just rights of the minority, may at the same time be satisfactory to the Irish people, and permanently remove discontent, and, so far as may still be possible, its causes.

It was resolved, too, that copies of these resolutions be forthwith communicated, by Mr. Speaker, to the Right Honorable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., and to Charles Stuart Parnell, Esq., M.P.

The resolution was carried by a vote of 59 yeas to 28 yeas.

SIXTH, SEVENTH AND EIGHTH LEGISLATURES

On the 23rd of April the House was prorogued after assent had been given to ninety-nine acts.

The House reassembled on the 25th of January, 1888, the Speech being read by Sir Alexander Campbell, who had succeeded the Hon. J. B. Robinson. He announced that the Supreme Court of Canada had affirmed the judgment of the High Court of Appeal in favor of the provincial claim to Crown lands, to which the so-called Indian title had not been extinguished until after Confederation.

The Federal Government had recently intimated to him its intentions of concurring in the steps necessary to obtain from the Imperial Parliament an act confirming the western boundary of the provinces. Negotiations had also commenced respecting the northern boundary, so far as the same has not already been determined.

University extension had been advanced, and a site had been procured for Upper Canada College.

Improvements were being effected in Hamilton Asylum, rooms for 150 additional patients having been brought into use.

The judges upon controverted elections and petitions sent in their reports, declaring the elections of Mr. W. Willoughby for East Northumberland, and of Theodore J. Chamberlain for Dundas, void. James Clancy, Esq., for West Kent, was confirmed in his seat. At subsequent elections Mr. J. P. Whitney was elected for Dundas and Mr. Richard Clarke for East Northumberland.

J. P. WHITNEY, Esq., defeated Mr. Chamberlain, an old antagonist, in 1888, and has since been re-elected at every general election. At the time of his election he was a comparatively new man in politics, although he had been previously in a contest with Mr. T. J. Chamberlain.

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He at once took an interest in the business of the Legislature. He spoke occasionally, and created a favorable impression upon party friends, and a belief in ministerial ranks that here was a man to be reckoned with.

Mr. Meredith was then the Leader of the Opposition, and regarded his new follower as one not only likely to win his spurs, but to take a prominent part in the work of the House. He gradually found his way to the front benches, although he never shoved himself to the van unless hard knocks were to be expected. He had one hobby, if you like to so term it, in his merciless attacks upon the attempts at bribery upon both sides, which were revealed in every election court.

When the retirement of William Meredith left the Conservative party practically without a leader, Mr. MARTER assumed the position reluctantly, and only after great pressure, but soon relinquished it, feeling that he could not deal with the temperance question as he would like to do and retain a leadership of average Conservatives or Reformers. Ill-health precipitated what was inevitable, and he made way in the hope that a stronger man could be found to do the work for which he felt incapable. Mr. Whitney was selected, and is yet under trial. He had able predecessors, and there were those who predicted his early retirement from office, but he gradually led the country and his opponents to perceive that no man to the left of the Speaker had exhibited more tact, resource and knowledge of public affairs. Some regarded him as distinguished by an unfinished style as an orator, but it was soon seen that it was of the quality which tells, and that he could use the scalping-knife with deft and skilful hand, or the sledge-hammer with thundering crash, as he desired, and when grown accustomed, as he speedily did, to the ins and outs of

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parliamentary debate, he had no reason to fear any rival or to quail before the attack or rejoinder of the leading men of the Mowat *régime*. To speak at greater length of one still on the political stage would be to be tempted into a path which I do not care to follow.

Other members who first appeared in the House about this time were:

ANGUS MCKAY, Esq., M.D., who was member for South Oxford, and held the constituency for several years. First elected to the Legislature meeting on the 10th of February, 1887, he was returned in 1891, 1895 and 1898. A medical gentleman with large practice, he was personally highly popular, but local differences existed even in South Oxford, and he was finally defeated. He acted for some years as the Reform "whip" of the House, and was presented with a handsome silver service by his fellow-members. He was an attractive speaker, and took part in a debate occasionally, but he had more onerous duties and closely attended to them. When he did address the House it was for the purpose of gaining time, probably before a division. As a rival whip he was confronted by G. W. Monk, Esq., or Dr. Willoughby, and the intercourse of these was as pleasing as could well be conceived as existing between men of such antagonistic views.

DONALD GUTHRIE, Esq., Q.C., was elected member for South Wellington in the Local Legislature in 1886 and again in 1900. He had previously represented his constituency in the Commons. Mr. Guthrie was a logical advocate of Liberalism, and was otherwise an earnest and attractive speaker, whose word had great weight. Unfortunately he suffered from deafness, which seriously interfered with his efficiency. But for that fact he would have been invited to a seat in the Cabinet.

HON. ERNEST HENRY BRONSON, Ottawa, was made a member of the Executive Council, without portfolio, on the 30th September, 1890, and was a pronounced Liberal, of fiscal ability, and was largely engaged in lumbering. He was an American by birth, but perfectly free from the extreme views which distinguished many of his compatriots. Of course, he had become a British subject before he took his seat in the Local Assembly. He was a concise and logical speaker, and was always listened to with attention when he addressed the House.

JAMES R. STRATTON, Esq., was elected member for West Peterborough in 1886, and sat in the House from that date through the Legislatures of 1891, 1895, 1898 and 1903. His rise in the Legislature was rapid, and he was one of its most industrious members. As a speaker he was fluent, and wisely prepared himself thoroughly to meet any possible attack upon his department or any of the private bill legislation which he promoted at every session before he became a busy member of the Government, when he was elevated to the office of Provincial Secretary in 1899. On a Municipal Committee he was eminently in the lead, while in knowledge of the subject of municipal assessment he was one of the strongest men in the Legislature. From his first entrance to the House he was marked by an attempt at practical legislation, and prided himself upon the fact that he had a clear conception of the advantages arising from co-operation, and had a taste for its study, and a broad view as to its possibilities. His home—for such Peterborough may be termed—illustrates his ideas of progress, and that union of small means which ultimately tends to bring about great results. He has withdrawn for the time from provincial politics, but he cannot keep out of the turmoil—and vicissitudes, if you will—of party

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life, organization and action, and if health is spared to him he will yet come again to the front in his public career.

HON. F. E. A. EVANTUREL, for many years member for Prescott, occupied a seat in the Legislature after the general elections in 1887, 1891, 1895, 1898, 1902, but was defeated in that of 1905. He had large influence with the many electors of French-Canadian origin resident in the eastern and northern constituencies of the province, and, had the Ross Cabinet been sustained upon its last appeal to the people, might have been selected as a member of the Administration. He speaks well in English and eloquently in French, and has the suavity of his compatriots.

ROBERT FERGUSON, Esq., entered the Legislature in 1887, and represented East Kent as a Reformer until after the close of the century. He was always at his post, faithfully supporting Reform measures, and never shirked a vote or deserted a principle.

JAMES CONMEE, Esq., North Algoma, first took his seat in the Legislature on 28th of January, 1886, and at the general election later in the same year he was again returned. He was one of the most remarkable men taking a place in that Assembly. Possessing a combination of physical and intellectual strength, he is a man of great force of character, of unusual acuteness, of good judgment, and of unfailing courage. He might quail before a lion, but the animal must be of more than ordinary strength and ferocity, and the man who could affright the member for Algoma never put in an appearance in the Ontario Legislature. Mr. Conmee's course in the Legislature was marked by a thorough devotion to the interests of his constituents, and this interest he no doubt exhibits in the wider sphere of the House of

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Commons. As a young man Mr. Conmee was of an adventurous spirit, and served during the American Civil War in the 8th New York Cavalry, under General Custer.

EDWARD FREDERICK CLARKE, Esq., was elected to represent West Toronto in 1887, and again in 1891. He was a consistent Conservative, and for some time held high positions in the Orange order. He was never disagreeably pugnacious, but firmly maintained such views as he held. He was affable in manner and clear in the expression of his views. A model politician, he respected his opponents, and, as a rule, those thinking otherwise than with him had a high opinion of his intentions. He was a pleasant speaker and attentive to the little courtesies which smooth every man's path. He was ordinarily cool, and equal to the exigencies of debate, though he never needlessly flayed an opponent. Mr. Clarke was afterwards one of Toronto's representatives at Ottawa. Few men of his day had more friends in his home city, and his comparatively early death was greatly regretted.

JAMES RAYSIDE, Esq., was one of the Reform members of the House. He represented Glengarry in 1887, after the seat had been filled for some years by Donald McMaster, Esq., of Montreal. Mr. Rayside had been engaged largely in lumbering, and being a man of ideas and possessed of a popular manner, could handle an elector as easily as a public question. He had many friends and no enemy.

After a general election, 5th of June, 1890, the House met on the 11th of February, 1891. His Honor the Lieut.-Governor, Sir Alexander Campbell, went through the form of discovering that the House had no Speaker, and declared it impossible that he should seriously address

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himself to it until this deficiency had been supplied. He would go away to-day and come back to-morrow.

When to-morrow and three o'clock arrived, the vacancy had been filled, and very well filled, by the appointment of Thomas Ballantyne, Esq., member for the South Riding of Perth. This gentleman was acceptable to His Honor, who proceeded to declare the causes of his summoning the present Legislature, and said he had pleasure in announcing that a considerable advance had been made towards the settlement of long-pending differences between the Dominion and the province, and that small matters still undecided were likely to be fully adjusted during the present year.

In Quebec, however, the Government retained its old attitude toward the Land Improvement Fund, and it was recommended that the payment to municipalities from this fund, chargeable against Ontario, should no longer be delayed.

The growing interest in scientific agriculture was noticed with pleasure, and the good work of the Provincial Board of Health and of local boards working in unison was referred to. The dissemination of "sanitary literature" was declared to be one of the useful means of fighting the spread of disease.

The discovery of immense and valuable deposits of nickel would require some changes in the mining laws, and the withdrawal from sale and location of some portions of Algoma and Nipissing.

Commissions which had inquired into the subjects of prison reform and the fish and game laws would have reports ready for consideration before the close of the session.

Two new ministers were present in the House, Hon. Richard Harcourt, as Treasurer, and Hon. John Dryden,

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as Minister of Agriculture. There were as many as eighteen reports of judges who had held trials of controverted elections, many of those whose elections had been protested being confirmed in their seats.

The Address in reply to the Speech was moved by Joseph Tait, and seconded by J. T. Garrow. When the estimates came up for consideration there was the annual fight over the matter of the purchase, without tender, of supplies for institutions. Inquiries into this subject have been frequent, and the result has been a confirmation of the present method of buying all articles wisely purchasable in that way by tender, such as flour, coal, and supplies in large and determinable quantities. Many things of irregular or only occasional demand can be bought to better advantage in the open market. The keen commercial rivalry existing to-day makes overcharging improbable, and under either method it is safe to assert that every Government will make sure that party friends will have a preference, provided that quality and price are equal. It is sheer hypocrisy to say that any other course is pursued by any Government under representative institutions. Ontario, in this respect, is neither better nor worse than its neighbors, and as yet no great scandal has been dragged from the coal-hole or elsewhere, establishing dishonesty on the part of grocers, dry goods men or others selling goods to the Government.

During this session a further sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was voted for the erection of new Parliament Buildings, making the total sum voted for such purposes twelve hundred thousand dollars.

One hundred and thirteen acts were given the Royal assent, when the House was prorogued on May 4th, the latest date at which prorogation had taken place

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since Confederation. This was also the longest session since the establishment of the Legislature, lacking only one week of three months. The previous session in 1890 had been longer than any of those preceding it. This increasing length of the session was due in a considerable degree to the greater amount of private bill legislation, which formed almost one-half of the work of the session of 1891.

A member of this Legislature who afterwards attained a leading position, was HON. ELIHU DAVIS, who sat for North York from 1891 to the close of the Ross *régime*. He was appointed Provincial Secretary, 28th of August, 1896, and in October, 1899, became Commissioner of Crown Lands. His addresses to the House were carefully prepared, full of facts, strengthened with strong arguments, which were put so as to impress the listener with the conviction that he thoroughly understood his subject, and was not attempting to speak over the heads of his audience. He was a careful departmental head, was on good terms with his staff, and fully alive to the importance of the Crown Lands income, and the value of our immense mining properties.

HON. J. T. GARROW, Esq., was a man of uncommon parts, and took his seat for West Huron, 11th of February, 1891, was re-elected in 1895, and afterwards ascended the bench. He was called to the Cabinet without portfolio, holding that position for a brief period. His elevation to the bench was generally approved. Mr. Garrow is a close reasoner, but better fitted for a legal administrator than a political partisan.

W. H. BIGGAR, Esq., who sat for West Hastings in 1891 and 1895, was an energetic and successful committeeman, especially on the Private Bills Committee, where he had more influence than any other man

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sent from Belleville. Although a legal gentleman, he was not given to making long speeches. He is now solicitor for the Grand Trunk, and has removed from Belleville to Montreal.

The House was again called together for 11th of February, 1892, when, because of the inability through sickness of His Honor Sir A. Campbell to open the session, the Honorable John Hawkins Hagarty, Chief Justice of the province, was appointed to be administrator of the Government, and opened the House in the usual form.

The Speech referred to the lamented death of one of the direct heirs to the British throne, the Duke of Clarence, and informed the House that gracious messages of acknowledgment had been received in reply to the condolences sent by the Lieut.-Governor.

The activity of the Department of Agriculture was being appreciated, and was bringing about increased interest and advance in all departments of husbandry.

The revenue from Woods and Forests had been larger than anticipated, despite a decreased output.

Fires had been very troublesome in the forest regions because of the drought, but the system of fire-ranging had prevented them from assuming disastrous proportions, and the injured timber had been sold to good advantage.

The new Parliament Buildings were nearing completion, and it was hoped that the next session might be held there.

The University Buildings, damaged by fire two years previous, were almost restored, and the new Upper Canada College Building was so much appreciated that more students asked for admission than could be accommodated.

Lieut.-Col. Gillmor, Clerk of the Assembly from Confederation to the end of 1891, when he died after a brief illness, was succeeded by the writer, who held the office until 1st of January, 1907, and was succeeded by A. H. Sydere, Esq., for many years Clerk Assistant, and highly qualified for his present position.

One of my first duties as Clerk of the House was to administer the oath to James Kirkwood, Esq., my successor in the representation of East Wellington, who had been elected in November, 1891.

On the 1st of March, 1892, the House received a return of the election of Hon. W. Harty, as member for Kingston.

HON. WILLIAM HARTY succeeded Hon. Christopher F. Fraser as Commissioner of Public Works in the Mowat Administration. Eminently practical and fully acquainted with the control of a large business, where constructive knowledge was necessary, he was well fitted to fill the vacancy created by the retirement of his eminent predecessor. Mr. Harty was familiar, too, with the labor questions of his day, and was in touch with the movements of the labor party in the United States, as well as in the Dominion, and especially in the province of Ontario. In manner he was democratically approachable, felt that he held office through, by, and for the people, and that the province and Dominion were on the threshold of great changes, which would materially advance the progress of the whole community. Mr. Harty found the cares of office wearing, and withdrew from the Government and the Legislature. He was afterwards elected to represent Kingston in the Dominion House.

On the 24th of March, 1892, an important step was

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taken when resolutions were introduced respecting succession duties.

The bounty on wolves was considered in Committee, and it was determined that it should be increased from \$6 to \$10 upon each wolf killed in accordance with regulations. The wolf, it is said, still holds its own, and at the present time the payments on account of bounties threaten to exceed the appropriation for that purpose.

A resolution was passed to enable the University of Toronto to raise the sum of \$250,000, to be a first charge upon the permanent funds of the University, at the rate of \$5 to the pound for principal.

The order for a second reading of the bill to provide for the admission of women to the study and practice of the law elicited an amendment from Mr. Meredith, seconded by Mr. Clancy, that the bill be read six months hence. This was lost on a division of 40 to 41, and the second reading was carried.

Resolutions providing for additional railway aid were brought down and received.

A bill for the protection of bees was carried on a vote of 52 yeas to 27 nays. Amendments were moved but voted down.

Judge Hagarty again acted as administrator at the close of the session, after assenting to one hundred and eight acts. Before doing so, he read the usual Speech, and took opportunity to announce the fact that this was the last session of the Legislative Assembly in the old Parliament Buildings, and congratulated the House on the liberal grant made for a proper representation of the province at the World's Fair, to be held in Chicago in the following year.

Lieut.-Governor Campbell did not recover from the serious illness which afflicted him during the session

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of 1892, but died at Government House in May of that year. His successor was Honorable George Airey Kirkpatrick, who had the honor of opening the first session held in the new buildings in Queen's Park. This event in the history of the Legislature took place on the 4th day of April, 1893, and the interest and attendance which it called forth made it a memorable occasion.

HON. THOMAS BALLANTYNE, of Stratford, who had the honor of being the first Speaker to preside over the deliberations of the Assembly in its new quarters, as he was the last to officiate in the historic buildings now obliterated, had been a member of the House for South Perth continuously from 1875. For years he had been a warm supporter of Reform principles, but as Speaker partisan feeling never entered into his decisions, which were always arrived at with caution. Since the close of the Parliament of 1890, he has not taken the same deep interest in public life as in more early years, and it is largely owing to this fact that Perth has been somewhat erratic in its political course. While taking a very earnest and unselfish part in the promotion of public affairs, local and general, Mr. Ballantyne has been specially identified with the progress of the dairy industry, in connection with which his name is as familiarly known in Great Britain as in Canada. His generosity, hospitality, and valuable advice are highly appreciated in Perth, but even more widely valued outside of the county. He never spared himself or his means when by fair use of both he could advance Reform principles, and he has been kept out of continued activity only by failing health, which almost inevitably falls to the share of him who, for many years, has done two men's work. Mr. Ballantyne is an excellent conversationist, speaking as aptly in a public assembly as when at his fireside, and

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possesses an excellent repertory of political and general information.

During the recess, Nelson Gordon Bigelow, Esq., had been elected in room of H. E. Clarke, Esq., whose tragic death in the House has been noted. Mr. Bigelow did not live to take his place in the Assembly. Another election had been held since his death, and the successful candidate was George Sterling Ryerson, Esq., M.D., who was for some time a useful and industrious representative of Toronto's interests.

The Lieut.-Governor referred to the fact that he had the honor not only of opening the first session in the new Parliament Buildings, but that he was presiding over the Legislative work of a new century, this being the first year of the second century of the existence of representative government in Canada. He rejoiced in believing that under our present relations with the Empire we could enjoy every privilege necessary to the fullest exercise of self-government.

He alluded to several measures and reports which would be laid before them, and stated that a bill consolidating the various Acts respecting the University of Toronto, the Registry Acts, a bill respecting Labor Liens, and another dealing with Voters' Lists in cities, would be offered for their consideration.

The Address in reply was disposed of without delay, and was moved by Mr. Allan, seconded by Mr. McKechnie.

Numerous petitions were presented this session, praying that provision might be made for taking a direct vote of the electors of Ontario upon the question of importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating liquors.

Mr. E. F. Clarke (Toronto) moved that the representation of Toronto, as it now exists, is unfair and unjust,

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and that there is no reason for maintaining the anomalous, exceptional, and unfair methods of electing representatives for the said electoral district.

Mr. Davis moved a long amendment, declaring against the success of the experiment of minority representation existent in Toronto, and admitting that it ought to be abolished.

Mr. Tait (Toronto) moved in amendment to the amendment the additional provision that the city is entitled to greater representation because of increase in population.

On May 20th the debate was renewed, and Mr. Tait's amendment to the amendment was carried by a vote of 49 yeas to 29 nays. The amended amendment and the amended main motion were carried on the same division, the votes being strictly Conservative on the part of the nays.

Mr. Waters, not for a moment dismayed in his crusade for women's rights, resumed the debate on the second reading of Bill 82 to enable women to vote for members of the Legislative Assembly. An amendment declaring in effect that the results of such legislation had not been sufficiently considered, and that it was inexpedient to emulate the State of Wyoming, and moving the six months' hoist, was introduced and carried by a vote of 57 to 16.

Mr. WATERS, representative of North Middlesex, was one of those plucky men who never know when they are defeated, and who persist in a certain course when it is evident to all the rest of thinking mankind that they cannot carry their ideas into practical operation. He was a clear-headed municipal man, and his opinions in general were valuable and often distinctly novel. He was in the Legislature for several sessions, and was

missed when he deemed it advisable to accept an official position in Middlesex.

The proposition embodied in Bill 71, "for the prevention of cruelty to and better protection of children," was moved by Mr. Gibson, Provincial Secretary, and opposed by Mr. Meredith, who was strongly pronounced on the ground that a paid provincial officer for the enforcement of the law was an unnecessary expenditure, and asked that this feature of the bill be removed. The House differed from the hon. member, and by a vote of 53 to 29 disposed of his amendment. Mr. Whitney took exception to a section of the bill, but his amendment was lost by a vote of 62 to 22.

On 22nd May, 1893, Bill 156, to enable the electors of the province to pronounce upon the desirability of prohibiting the importation, manufacture, and sale, as a beverage, of intoxicating liquors, was called for second reading, and this motion of Mr. Ross was carried on a division of 48 yeas to 28 nays.

Several railways were aided, and the bill authorizing this was read a third time on May 25th, being carried on a division of 52 yeas to 31 nays.

Prorogation took place on May 27th, and assent was given to one hundred and seventeen acts.

A general election was held in June, 1894, and the Government was again sustained. When the new Legislature met on February 21st, 1895, William Douglas Balfour, Esq., was chosen to fill the Speaker's chair, and the Lieut.-Governor, who had retired while the Speaker was being elected, returned, and read his Speech. It had been the custom to occupy two days in the formalities incidental to opening each new Legislature, but the more simple procedure now obtains of presenting the Speaker

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to His Honor immediately after his election. The Speech is then read and public business so far expedited.

HON. W. D. BALFOUR sat for South Essex in the Legislative Assembly from 1882 to the date of his death in August, 1896. He was publisher and editor of the Reform paper in Amherstburg. At all times a great worker, he devoted his life to political labor, and no man ever served his party more faithfully. In speaking, his matter was carefully prepared, and the points made by him were excellent, but a too rapid utterance detracted from the value of his addresses. He could arouse the enthusiasm of his hearers, but the efforts made, for he never spared himself, gradually weakened his frail constitution, and the toil of the election after he had joined the Administration hastened his end. He had been Speaker only a short time when he was taken into the Government, and his death, at the moment when he had attained a position of greater usefulness, was particularly sad. His great popularity amongst his own people was shown by the immense crowd attending his funeral.

The Speech read by Lieut.-Governor Kirkpatrick in 1895 was brief, but had several matters prominently important. The Supreme Court of Canada having held that the province had no power to pass a prohibitory liquor law, the Government was taking the necessary proceedings for an appeal to Her Majesty's Privy Council upon the question. Bills were to be introduced for the extension of the Factory Act and the Children's Protection Act, and for revising and consolidating the Acts relating to agriculture, and to mechanics' institutes and free libraries.

The arbitrators adjusting unsettled accounts between the Dominion and the provinces of Ontario and Quebec were still making progress.

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A measure having in view the simplifying of certain legal proceedings would be introduced, and the question of the maintenance of Government House would be considered.

A long-familiar figure was missed from the House this session, and one of the announcements made by Mr. Speaker was that the Clerk, having been notified that a vacancy had occurred in the representation of the city of London, owing to William Ralph Meredith having accepted an office of profit at the nomination of the Crown, had issued a writ for an election, and Thomas Saunders Hobbs, Esq., was elected to fill the vacancy.

On the report of the judges for the trial of election petitions, James Conmee, West Algoma, and William A. Willoughby, East Northumberland, were declared elected, and the following persons were declared not elected: George Tucker, West Wellington; Edward Handley Smythe, Kingston.

Honorable William Harty was returned as elected for Kingston.

Mr. Craig, seconded by Mr. McNeish, moved the address on 22nd of February, and it was passed on the same day.

A motion was made by Mr. Haycock on the 13th of March, that the maintenance of Government House should, after the expiration of five years from the appointment or other earlier determination of the term of office of His Honor the present Lieut.-Governor be discontinued.

The Attorney-General moved in amendment that the matter should be referred to a special committee. This was carried by a vote of 44 yeas to 37 nays.

This was the session in which the Patrons of Industry were largely represented, and when their leader, Mr.

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Haycock was a power in the House and country. But the fight was brief. These members speedily perceived that they had nothing to gain by union with the Conservatives, and that to carry out their views they must work in unison with those who were promoting sensible changes as well as the preservation of well-tried usages. Measures with little but novelty to recommend them and class representation for its own sake are not likely to succeed under our system.

On the 3rd of April a bill was read a second time to provide for the admission of women to the study and practice of the law, and was adopted by a vote of 61 yeas to 27 nays.

There was a split between the extremists on a proposed bill by Mr. Haycock to amend the Act respecting the Legislative Assembly, and it was lost on a division where Reformers and Conservatives alike were recorded against it, the vote being 74 yeas to 13 nays. "And," to quote the quaint language of the Journal, "so it passed in the negative."

In the last days of the session the Opposition exercised pretty freely its rights of criticism and suggestion. The vexed question as to the propriety of the employment of prison labor in manufacturing was up for discussion, and when expenditure for educational purposes was being considered, Mr. Whitney put in a plea for an extension of the work to be done in public schools, a matter in which he continued to take an active interest.

The session came to an end on the 16th of April, after one hundred and twenty-seven acts had been assented to.

In 1896 the House met on the 11th of February, and the Speech read by His Honor was rather pessimistic in tone. Business in several lines was depressed, the lumber

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trade being especially dull, but the agricultural and mining industries were being fostered and developed.

Perhaps the most important measure foreshadowed was a bill reducing the number of members of county councils. This bill aroused much discussion, and amendments, ranging from the six months' hoist to the suppressing or changing of certain sections, were offered and defeated. Though well intended, the measure never received full popular approval, and a return has been made to the system which it superseded.

Private bills asking for power to build and operate lines of electric railways were appearing in considerable numbers, and a bill amending the Electric Railway Act of the previous session was introduced.

The powers of the province to enact prohibitory liquor legislation were still undecided, and in this matter the Legislature was marking time.

Though there was little legislation to excite interest or contention, one hundred and twenty-two acts received the Royal assent when Lieut.-Governor Kirkpatrick prorogued the House on the 7th of April, 1896.

During the recess the Dominion elections took place. The Reformers were victorious, and Sir Oliver Mowat bade farewell to the Provincial Legislature, and became Minister of Justice at Ottawa.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CLOSING WORDS.

IN bringing to a close this brief summary of the early workings of Confederation in Ontario, I may be permitted to note the thought which has presented itself to me during the progress of my labor, and in pointing out, what has already been realized, that a complete history of the province, from the inception of the Mowat *régime* to its end, cannot be adequately told in a single volume. A mere sketch of the doings of the period which has elapsed since Confederation was brought about is all that has been attempted by me, and I gladly make way for better pens to work out a complete story of the events of the last forty years. I have attempted to familiarize the reader with some of the forms through which our laws pass in their making, and hinted at a few of the main incidents of the period, but to look back at the comparatively little that has been done by me is to convince me of the great extent of that still left untouched, and to lead to the hope that some other one, before reaching the age of an octogenarian, may take up the tangled threads and weave from them a fuller, brighter and more thorough and coherent story. Much has been accomplished by those who have already written largely upon the subject of Canadian history, and they are necessarily to be consulted, but more is to be found in the files of old newspapers, records of travellers,

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the written sketches of localities, letters of private individuals, municipal records, and other sources of original information than in the parliamentary proceedings of which I have had knowledge and to which I have in a great measure confined myself.

I have felt that my story is incomplete, from the fact that the field to be gone over by the explorer and narrator is too extended for limited time.

It was not commenced until two or three months of my eighty-first year had elapsed, and even now I am conscious that I have scarcely passed the threshold of my subject.

My aim has been to cover what may be termed the Mowat period. It will be noted that men who came on the scene since that time have been purposely left to other notice.

That period of our provincial history is unique, and ought to remain unbroken in a narrative of the time in which Ontario recommenced its growth. Whatever contemporaries may have said as to his methods, the fact remains that the work was done, and well done; that Oliver Mowat built up a state out of a comparative wilderness, and gave to it laws, steadily enforced, which were necessary to its existence and its growth. To engage in this glorious work—for such it was in the hands of a man who saw the immediate future clearly, and used that knowledge to make way for its coming—was a noble finish to a long public life, and must make his *régime* as memorable as that of any who have preceded or may follow him. It seems fitting that the work of such an era should stand alone in its treatment by the critic. The term of Mr. Mowat's premiership, extending from 1872 to 1896, covered what may be regarded as the high tide of Liberalism in Ontario, for it witnessed

CLOSING WORDS

the creation or amendment of laws bearing upon every possible subject—social, political or educational. One of the first demands of an established people is a recognition of the rights of the represented. In extension of the suffrage, protection of the polling booth, the purity of the election and of electoral machinery, the equal rights of voter and representative were vigorously guarded, in the voters' list, the ballot-box, the punishment of bribery, the controverted election law, and the impartial decisions of a clean judiciary. Municipal laws were reformed so often and so regularly that some men complained of what they termed "tinkering." Education kept pace with, or went even beyond, the demands of the educated. From public school to university not a single year passed without some needed change, if you will, but reform undoubtedly. The school-house is the foundation of popular liberty, and it was built with unsparing expenditure of public funds. The compact with those controlling the separate schools of the province was honestly maintained in the face of frequent attack. Lands to actual settlers were profusely, not extravagantly, granted. Our assessment laws were gradually but effectively brought into unison with all that the light of the time and the experience of the past had revealed on the subject. Our timber, a valued asset, was economically managed. A moderate succession duty was exacted in accordance with a general sense of justice, and which yearly meets with growing approval. Railways were generously, perhaps lavishly, assisted, but nobody complained of excessive liberality in that direction, the need of means of transport being great. The law of dower and provision for the widows of intestates, and the grant of municipal suffrage to women, presaged a more liberal acknowledgment of the part which woman takes in the

SIXTY YEARS IN UPPER CANADA

growth of civilization. Temperance advancement was notably illustrative of the progress of the time. In fact, it is useless to continue a list so markedly indicative of the blessings brought about by a free people in a quarter of a century when wisely and fearlessly led. The future, influenced by the past, should have even better things in store, and the model set by the unequalled premiership of a progressive but conserving statesman will long live in the minds of the electors of Ontario.

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